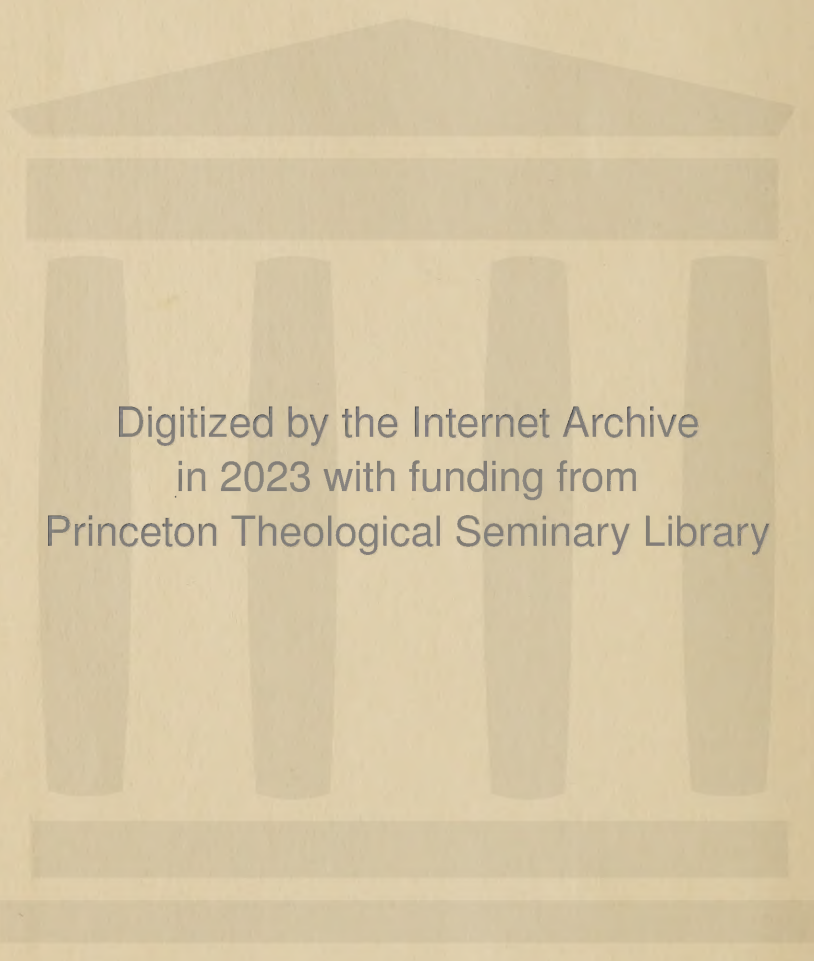


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Studies of the Spanish
mystics



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STUDIES OF THE SPANISH MYSTICS

BY

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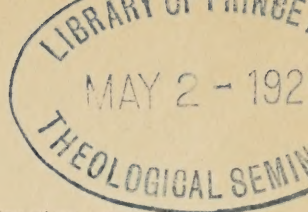
VOLUME I

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I am not mov'd, my God, to love of Thee
By Heav'n which Thou dost pledge me as reward.
I am not mov'd to cease to grieve Thee, Lord,
By thoughts and fears of Hell which threaten me.

Thou mov'st me, O my God. Mov'd sore am I
To see Thee nail'd upon that cruel Tree
The scorn of men, wounded despitefully.
Mov'd am I : Thou dost suffer and dost die.

Mov'd am I thus, my Lord, to love Thee : yea,
Were there no Heav'n at all, I'd love Thee still,
Were there no Hell, my due of fear I'd pay.

Thou need'st not make me gifts to move my will,
For were my hopes of Heav'n quite fled away,
Yet this same love my heart would ever fill.

PREFACE

IN the year 1924 I published a volume entitled *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, which consisted for the most part of representative passages from thirteen mystical writers of the Golden Age in Spain. Translations of these passages were provided, together with brief bi-bibliographical notes upon each author, and the book was completed by an introductory essay, which attempted to describe in outline the nature and environment of Spanish mysticism, and its progress during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The principal aim of this "preliminary survey" was to give some idea to English-reading people of the wealth of mystical literature which Spain can boast, and so to pave the way for a larger work, which I had already begun, and which, when completed, will be found to contain studies of all the noteworthy mystics of Spain's greatest age. Of this work the first volume, dealing with seven writers, is now published.

Among the difficulties attending the planning of this project, two in particular have been constantly in my mind, and, in the result, one of them has partly forced a solution of the other. The first, and more obvious, was the difficulty of classification and arrangement. In what order should these writers be studied? The claims of at least forty to fifty pressed for attention, and to select as few as six or seven for one volume, and perhaps ten or twelve for the next, was not easy. Should the "greatest" be studied first? But who can say which of them is greater than another? No two persons would agree upon a division. Should an attempt, then, be made to treat these writers as though they belonged to different "schools"? This plan, when tried, seemed at first a possibility, but the merest breath of criticism revealed

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its fundamental weakness—that of artificiality. Such “schools” never really existed : they could not, indeed, exist. There remained the attractive method of grouping the writers according to the religious orders to which they belonged, and the straightforward one of attempting to be rigidly chronological.

It was here that the second difficulty stepped in. The treasures of Spanish mysticism have, with a few exceptions, lain undiscovered and unknown for centuries, even in Spain itself. The works of the two Carmelite saints, of Luis de Granada, Juan de los Angeles and a handful of others, are readily available in monumental Spanish editions. But for the remainder one has to search. Long days have to be spent in the libraries, not only of Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Valencia and other great centres, but in those of obscure monasteries and private houses in this part of the country and in that. Till Spanish editions of the lesser mystics are published, such will perforce be the lot of those who seek to study them. It seemed, therefore, impossible to commit oneself to a rigid scheme, which might well involve the holding up of a volume for years until some treatise of which the whereabouts was unknown should come to light.

The scheme decided upon is a combination of the order of merit and the order of chronology. The most important mystics will, in general, be treated first—in this volume and the next. And within each volume the order of treatment will be approximately chronological. The second volume, which should follow the first in from two to three years' time, will exhaust most of the material easily accessible. The intervals of publication of succeeding volumes will depend largely upon the accessibility of the books with which they will deal.

This work, it is to be understood, makes no pretension to being a History of Spanish Mysticism. Although its several books and chapters must, of necessity, be in some respects interdependent, it was conceived as a series of individual studies, the aim of which is to illustrate the greatness of mysticism in Spain by the greatness of its exponents. For this reason, while I am primarily con-

cerned with the mystical aspect of their writings, lives, and personalities, I have tried to give as complete and many-sided an account of each as limits of space have allowed, so that each personality, life and corpus of writing should be presented whole.

Obviously much compression has been essential in order to bring these studies within a reasonable compass. Upon any one of the seven mystics here treated a volume of the length of this might have been written. All but the first are authors of numerous treatises, to each of which might itself be given a commentary. I have tried, therefore, both to avoid diffuseness and in various ways to make economies of space. Biographical narrative has been omitted, merely the barest outline of the life of each writer being given, or so much of it as is necessary to an understanding of his or her personality. Then I have followed the main lines only of the mystic's teaching, not allowing myself to be side-tracked by tempting minor problems which arise in the course of study and will have to be discussed elsewhere. Lastly, footnotes have been reduced to the minimum length, and, except where the importance of a quotation has made its reproduction in full desirable, references alone have been given to the original text.

While no reader can hope to make an adequate study of the Spanish mystics without some knowledge at least of their language, I have thought it well, as a rule, to relegate to the footnotes such Spanish quotations as have been made, to modernize the spelling of these, and also to quote in English, for the most part, both in text and notes—giving, however, all the necessary references to the original Spanish (or Latin) texts which will enable students to identify them.

The translations (apart from a few verse renderings)¹

¹ The verse renderings, except where otherwise stated, are my own. Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell has generously allowed me to adapt, in places, some of his versions of the lyrics of Luis de León; to the Benedictines of Stanbrook I am indebted for some renderings of St. Teresa's verse; and in two out of the six poems cited of St. John of the Cross, I have used, by permission, Mr. Arthur Symons' well-known translations. I have also to thank the Prior of the Cartuja de Miraflores, Burgos, for several suggestions.

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have all been made expressly for this book, and, where other translations exist, I have only referred to these very occasionally for purposes of comparison. I have thought it well to refer to the three saints who are well known in England by their English names : otherwise, Spanish names are employed throughout.

E. A. P.

LIVERPOOL,

March 19, 1926.

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INTRODUCTION

“ . . . In a word, a mystic is one who has fallen in love with God.”¹

The definition is that of a modern writer. An incomplete definition, some will say—vague, inexact, obscure. Others, perhaps differing from them as to exactly what falling in love means, will rather term it over-comprehensive. Unsatisfactory, as failing to express the whole truth, no doubt it is, but so much of the truth does it contain that it springs to the lips and remains in the memory unbidden.

It lies, from the Catholic point of view, at the root of the whole matter. From this root of love springs—in Lullian phrase—the “ tree of the philosophy of love,” whose branches spread wide till they give shelter to the whole world, yet force their way ever upwards in quest of love’s heaven on earth.² That tree is a symbol of the mystical life. Its progress can only be towards God, and all else that it encounters must be disregarded, thrust aside or overcome. Yet with its height comes also breadth. For all that so many of the truest lovers are of closely related creeds, the tree of love in itself knows no creed. Sheltering all that seek its shade—even so many as are watered by the showers of grace that fall from Heaven—its roots, trunk and branches, leaves, flowers and fruit have one quality only, that which gives it its name.

Some manifestations of mysticism there may be in which this elementary fact is overlooked and obscured. Some ages, some countries, some writers are side-tracked

¹ G. C. Rawlinson, *An Anglo-Catholic's Thoughts on Religion* (London, 1924), p. 135.

² See *The Tree of Love*, translated from the Catalan of Ramón Lull (London, 1926).

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from the purpose of the soul by dogma, ritual, sensualism, artificiality, and its other enemies. But nowhere has this happened less than in Spain of the Golden Age, whence, in a shorter span than that of a century, and to a smaller extent before and after that epoch, there proceeded such an outpouring of the heart of love, such a torrent of devotion, and incidentally such a wealth of literary treasure, as has surely never been surpassed in Christian Europe.¹ Only those who have been privileged to search in the unexplored mines of this treasure can have any idea of its extent : the volumes of the present work will do no more than examine closely a few superlative gems and point to the existence of a number more.

At the centre of Spanish mysticism, then, is deep, true, selfless love—lifelong, disinterested, whole-hearted :

Muévesme al tu amor en tal manera,
Que aunque no hubiera cielo, yo te amara,
Y aunque no hubiera infierno, te temiera.²

This is the love to which, centuries before, in Italy, Jacopone da Todi had given expression at once childlike and sublime :

Troppo perde el tempo chi non t' ama
dolce amor Jesu, sopra ogni amore.³

So the Spanish mystic thinks, and therefore he not only cherishes his love within his breast but gives it free and wide expression—plays upon it as upon a sweet-toned instrument of music, dwells with it as with the dearest and most intimate of friends, wields it as a weapon omnipotent wherewith to conquer the kingdom of God. No other theme can take its place, whether in his speech or in his writings. The most rigid asceticism he will endure, but only as a means, not as an end. The most moving spiritual consolations may visit him, but he values

¹ As Juan Valera (*Discursos académicos*, Madrid, vol. ii, p. 29) puts it tersely in comparing Spanish mysticism with that of other countries : “Vuela y ahonda más, y se extravía menos.”

² See dedicatory page, above.

³ *Laude*, ci. The title of the poem is instructive : “Como il vero amore non è ozioso.”

them, not for what they are, but for what they imply. Physical phenomena—which in less noble epochs of mysticism have played an astonishing part in its expression—are to the Spanish mystic of the Golden Age of no esteem whatever unless they denote what was denoted by the stigmata of St. Francis. One soul he had, and one theme : centre and circumference of his existence—both are one. “ Love,” he sings, “ thou art life.” Nay more :

Love, thou art absolute sole lord
Of life and death.¹

Hence, I think, the impression of overwhelming nobility which the works of the Spanish mystics of the age we are to study leave upon us. Hence, too, the universality of the appeal which they have made, and will make increasingly as more of them become known. Catholic and Protestant, even agnostic as well as believer, are caught up, not merely by their eloquence, but by the spirit of devotion which inspires it. This was the spirit that thrilled Menéndez y Pelayo as he proudly compared the greatness of Elizabeth’s England with the nobility of Philip’s Spain. The comparison has been made afresh in our own day by an English writer with force increased by the fact of his nationality : “ The Elizabethan face,” he says, “ is the face of a man who conquers the world, the Castilian is that of the man who storms the heights of heaven.”²

In another place, and in words which need not be repeated, I have detailed the particular characteristics, the combination of which, in a marked degree in Spanish mysticism, gives it an unmistakeable individuality.³ It is concrete, practical, personal, experiential, active. Reactions against one or another of these qualities there may be in the long course of its history—the best known being that of the quietistic teaching of Molinos. But

¹ Crashaw, *A Hymn to the Name and Honour of the admirable St. Teresa*.

² *An Anglo-Catholic’s Thoughts on Religion*, p. 71.

³ In *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, chap. v, pp. 40–45.

such exceptions are few, and in the hundred years which followed the birth of St. Teresa, when Spanish mysticism was at its greatest, they can hardly be said to have had an existence at all.

When the authoritative history of Spanish mysticism comes to be written, and not before, the full truth of these generalizations and the extent to which for different epochs they must be modified will become apparent. Unhappily, the writing of that history is still of necessity a distant event. In spite of the excellent monographs on the better known of individual mystics which are appearing in Spanish, English and French—some of them works surpassing anything of the kind produced in previous generations—there is still wanting the laborious and continuous research which alone can give us the texts of minor authors, discover those unknown to us entirely, unveil their lives, reveal their personalities, and interpret their works. Much of this will be the task of the religious orders, as these themselves realize. Recent years have seen the publication of notable studies, involving long and genuine investigation, by Carmelites, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans—to name only the outstanding examples. May their efforts and their achievements be multiplied !

Meanwhile the present volume aims at achievement of a somewhat different kind. Of the seven pre-eminent mystics commemorated in its pages, most are renowned in more fields of activity than one—as writers, thinkers, founders, organisers, poets, preachers, saints. It may be doubted if any country but Spain can show seven similar figures within the compass of a century, even leaving out of account the multitude of lesser men, in the same period, to be studied hereafter. It is not unnatural for one to group them together, round the supreme central figures of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. St. Teresa, indeed, is the unifying personality among them all. St. John of the Cross is her chief lieutenant. The methods of St. Ignatius train her. Luis de Granada and Francisco de Osuna are two of her later teachers. After her death Luis de León is her earliest editor, while

Juan de los Ángeles is the greatest of those in Spain who hand on her teaching, through his own, into the following century. Could we have included in this volume St. Peter of Alcántara and Jerónimo Gracián, it would have been a Teresan study indeed. As it is, they, together with others connected less intimately with her life, will be presented next in order, showing how her influence extended more and more widely in its effect upon receptive temperaments, even as the ripples widen upon a placid lake.

Future volumes will investigate the mystical works of Spanish writers as yet unknown—writers not only of the Golden Age, but of the two and a half centuries which separate them from the towering figure of the Franciscan mystic and martyr, Ramón Lull. Such investigation is an attractive task, whether it be judged by the labour involved or by the results that one may hope to attain. But first of all we do well to study those astonishing figures of the Golden Age, “unknown and yet well known,” who present to us the essential qualities of Spanish Mysticism, in their purest and most perfect form.

CHAPTER I
ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

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I

OF the greatest mystics of the Golden Age the first in time was St. Ignatius of Loyola. Primarily, of course, he is thought of, and will always be thought of, as the founder of the Society of Jesus ; the crowds that visit Manresa, the Santa Casa near Azpeitia, and other places of Ignatian memory, are not consciously paying tribute to the Saint as a mystic, still less as a mystical writer. But none could deny him the title of mystic, whether the criterion chosen be that of his life or his temperament, his writings or his acts. We give him the first place in this book, not only for his priority in time, but because his *Spiritual Exercises* form a suitable method of approach to other and, from the mystical standpoint, greater books, which followed them at an interval of no more than a few decades.

Born in the Basque country of a noble family in or about the year 1491,¹ Ignatius—baptized Iñigo—of Loyola was a typical soldier-gallant, “a man framed for the Court or the field, for my lady’s bower or my lord’s council-chamber.”² Fortune sent him to the wars. Garrisoned in Pamplona, he was wounded in the leg by a cannon-ball in a French attack on that city, and sent home to Loyola, where, as all the world knows, he went through

¹ The “official” and generally accepted date of St. Ignatius’ birth is 1491, but Polanco thought the correct date to be 1495, and there is a difference of opinion. The opening words of the *Acta* suggest that he was twenty-six at the date of his conversion, which was certainly 1521 : this is the principal argument in favour of 1495. See J. A. Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loyolæ et rerum Societatis Jesu Historia*. In *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, vol. i, p. 77 ; Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, 1902-1925), vol. i, p. 3 ; Fidel Fita, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 1890, vol. xvii, pp. 492-520 ; J. C. A. Thijm, in *Studien op godsdienstig, wetenschappelijk en letterkundig Gebied*, 1894, vol. xlii, pp. 165-91, vol. xliii, pp. 267-75 ; *Acta Sanctorum*, ad loc.

² Francis Thompson, *Saint Ignatius Loyola* (London, 1909), p. 6.

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the experience which we call conversion. Thenceforward, his life was one of intense devotion to God and to ideals with which God inspired him. After the famous vigil at Montserrat, the mystical experiences of the Manresan retreat, and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came the period of preparation, secular as well as spiritual, in which the aristocrat of thirty years or more went literally to school with children to learn Latin grammar, then passed to the University of Alcalá and finally to that of Paris. Eighteen years lie between Manresa and the formal constitution of the Society, in 1540, from which year onward the history of Ignatius is that of the Society. For fifteen years after being chosen as General he served it, until his death on the last day of July 1556.

By some strange chance—for there seems to be no evidence that it was anything more—the life of Ignatius of Loyola at point after point resembles that of Ramón Lull.¹ Ramón, like Ignatius, was of noble birth. Both spent their early years in exalted society. Both in their youth indulged in gallantries and lived somewhat worldly lives, till by the grace of God they were converted to lives of austerity, intense activity and devotion. Both loved chivalry and romance when young, and from the later career of each the strain of romance never died out.² Both Ramón and Ignatius were endowed with the most practical of minds, and given in increasing measure the

¹ For a long time I believed that this striking similarity had never before been pointed out, but after the first draft of this chapter was written I came upon a passage in the *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1885), vol. xxix, pp. 1-2, which describes Lull as a "Loyola manqué" and begins to justify this by drawing some of the more obvious parallels made in the text above, remarking that the life of Lull "fut en quelque sorte calquée d'avance sur la sienne et en paraît le crayon anticipé." The parallels, however, seem to be carried in this comparison rather farther than they will bear ("Tous deux veulent arriver à leurs fins par les mêmes moyens: la controverse d'abord, la politique ensuite. Sûrs d'avoir raison, les deux zélateurs s'occupent bien moins de la qualité que du succès de leurs arguments"). Further, the comparison is unfair to Ramón Lull, who was certainly not "toujours un impuissant," and it seems hardly to have been based on a complete realization of the close similarity in temperament between the two men.

² From similar, though not identical, motives St. Ignatius threw his only coins into the harbour as he left Spain for Italy, and Espronceda as he arrived at Lisbon, some three hundred years later, did the same. The chance parallel between the actions of two romantic souls is worth citing.

most ardent devotion. They had, perhaps to an equal degree, "la grandeur de la pensée et la grandeur de la volonté."¹ As a result, each excelled both as contemplative and active, showing a knowledge of the human mind, a regard for detail, and a consistently sane and realistic outlook—the combination of which has probably never been surpassed by any mystic, and places these two militant souls near the level of St. Teresa. Each was a firm believer in method, and both wrote works intended to guide others in the practice of mental prayer. The *Spiritual Exercises* might have been described as an "Art of Contemplation" by their author, and though not precisely alike, the meaning which each writer gives to the word "contemplation" is somewhat different from that current in mystical theology.

Minor points of resemblance between Lull and Loyola abound: the importance which they attached to learning,² their relations with the Franciscans,³ their interpretation of the ideal of poverty, their love of nature, which to each was an inspiration, their missionary zeal—St. Ignatius intended at one time to found a Christian order in Jerusalem whose aim should be to convert Moslems. One anecdote of St. Ignatius' early life reminds us so irresistibly of *Blanquerna*, both in spirit and in detail, that if we permit ourselves to relate it in the language of a former day, it might well be taken as a part of that famous romance:

1. It came to pass one day that as he was journeying towards Barcelona he met a man that was of the race of the Moors, the

¹ Guizot, *cit.* Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola* (London, 1923) p. ix.

² "Avant d'être apôtres, les deux enthousiastes voulurent donc être docteurs. A la fin du treizième siècle, la scolastique était la loi de la pensée; au seizième siècle, la renaissance des lettres par l'étude de l'antiquité était triomphante. Raimond se fait scolastique, Ignace se fait humaniste" (*Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. xxix, p. 1).

³ Lull was, as has been said, of the third order of St. Francis. St. Ignatius, though not a Franciscan, came again and again into contact with Franciscans. His confessor at one period of his life was a Franciscan, Diego de Alcántara; he was indebted deeply to the works of St. Bonaventura (either directly, or through the medium of Ludolph—see p. 12, below); and it would seem that he was greatly devoted to St. Francis' life and example (*cf.* Malzac, *Ignace de Loyola*, Paris, 1898, p. 28).

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which man was mounted upon a mule, and journeyed to the shrine of Montserrat. So they fell into converse, and ere long they began to dispute concerning the virginity of Our Lady, for the Moor allowed that she had indeed been a virgin when she brought forth Jesus Christ, the Son of God, but he maintained also that after the birth of the Lord Jesus she had given sons to her spouse Saint Joseph. So Ignatius disputed long with the Moor, but he could not make him to leave that opinion which for so long time he had held. At last the Moor conceived a great impatience with the argument, and, setting spurs to his mule, rode off with all speed.

2. Then Ignatius was troubled, and debated within himself whether he should pursue him and put him to death or no. And he had shame, because he had failed to convince him by his arguments, and likewise because he had suffered him to depart without injury. But it came to him also that by slaying this man, who lived in error and believed not in the virginity of Our Lady Saint Mary, he would bring sorrow to the heart of Our Lady and to the Heart of her blessed Son. For without doubt the soul of the Moor would be lost eternally if he believed not aright the Holy Catholic Faith.

3. So he journeyed onwards with these thoughts till he came to a place where two roads met. And incontinently he determined that he would leave his doubt to be resolved by the will of God. Whereupon he threw the bridle upon the neck of the mule, and suffered it to lead him, whether along the highroad which the unbeliever had taken, or up the other road, which was steep and narrow and covered with stones, according to the will of God. Then the mule turned aside from the broad road and entered the narrow path, and Ignatius marvelled that this was the will of God, and he followed not the Moor any farther.¹

We have no desire to attribute historical importance to any of these similarities between Ramón and Ignatius, for the former's direct influence has never been historically established, but there is no doubt, to our thinking, that St. Ignatius absorbed the spirit which was characteristi-

¹ For similar anecdotes to this, see *Blanquerna* (London, 1926), pp. 82 ff. The well-known episodes of St. Ignatius' self-immersion in icy water to save a soul, his confession to the licentious priest, and the game of billiards with the French theologian are equally reminiscent of *Blanquerna*. In this romance Lull makes his hero apply the identical methods for causing the conversion of others, and arousing remorse in them, that St. Ignatius employed, in actual fact, two and a half centuries after Lull's time (see D. Bartoli, *History of the Life and Institute of St. Ignatius Loyola* (New York, 1856), vol. i, pp. 154-7.

cally St. Francis' to a much greater extent than history is able to show. Or it may be that the two saints were but men of similar temperament who developed on similar lines, drawing their inspiration from the identical source. However it be, their histories are singularly alike, and like to both—even more like to St. Ignatius' than to St. Francis'—is that of the "Fool of Love," Ramón Lull. His life might be set against St. Ignatius' as a modern writer sets the life of St. Francis :

We see St. Francis, "God's troubadour," marked with His wounds, inflamed with His joy—obverse and reverse of the earnest-money of eternity—St. Ignatius Loyola, our Lady's knight—incurably romantic figures both of them—go out to change the spiritual history of Europe. Where did they find—born and bred to the most ordinary of careers, in the least spiritual of atmospheres—that superabundant energy, that genius for success which triumphed best in the most hopeless situations? Ignatius found it in the long contemplations and hard discipline of the cave of Manresa, after the act of surrender in which he dedicated his knighthood to the service of the Mother of God. Francis found it before the crucifix in St. Damiano, and renewed it in the ineffable experience of La Verna ; when "by mental possession and rapture he was transfigured of God." ¹

Equally true is it that we see Ramón the Fool, as clearly as St. Francis, in Ignatius the penitent, the pilgrim and the friend of sinners :

dans le pénitent plein de l'amour de Dieu et de l'amour de tous ceux que le Christ a voulu sauver, dans le pèlerin qui se contente pour lui de la mendicité, mais qui voudrait la rendre inutile aux humbles, dans l'ami des pécheurs, dans l'homme soucieux du soulagement intelligent de toutes les misères, dans le prêtre secourable aux courtisans.²

Many of the well-known details of St. Ignatius' life, into which the scope of this work does not allow us to enter with any fulness, bear out completely the dictum of William James : "Saint Ignatius was a mystic, but his mysticism made him assuredly one of the most power-

¹ Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism* (London, 1923), pp. 514-15.

² Henri Joly, *St. Ignace de Loyola* (Paris, 1899), p. 166.

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fully practical human engines that ever lived.”¹ He comes before us first, it is true, as a romantic, with “the soul of a knight-errant,”² not yet conceiving an ideal more profound than that of a divine knight-errantry.³ He is lover, soldier, pilgrim. Till the age of twenty-six, his principal delight is in feats of horsemanship and arms, his principal ambition martial glory. His courage in face of excruciating pain is amazing. Sick, he asks for *Amadis of Gaul* to read. Whole and converted, he turns naturally at first in directions suggested by such romances as this, only spiritualizing his chivalric ideals. Most characteristic is the vigil which he keeps at Montserrat on the eve of the Annunciation, 1522, watching his spiritual armour before Our Lady’s altar.

This element of chivalry, however, though never lost, is speedily overlaid, and realism (a force even in knight-errantry, though not in that of fiction) triumphs. St. Ignatius has an intense feeling for reality. There is stern purpose and consistent application in the experiences of Manresa: his nursing of the sick, his daily prayers and readings, austerities and penances, fasts and lengthy vigils. There is sanctified commonsense in his deliberate rejection of excessive neglect of food and toilet, in his gradual return to the company of all men, that by all means he might save some. Very definite are the objects of his memorable pilgrimage to Jerusalem—as much so as those of his determined and courageous career as a student. The narrative of his seven years in Paris reveals the practical, clear-headed thinker who fashioned and established the *Spiritual Exercises*. Practical, as we shall shortly see, are the *Exercises*; practical and far-seeing was the foundation of the Society of Jesus; practical are the prudence and insight of the first instructions of the founder; most practical of all, perhaps, are the Constitutions. “Loyola had two sides,” says a recent writer, “of so different an aspect that it seems

¹ *Varieties of Religious Experience* (London, 1902), p. 413.

² Manuel Gálvez, *El Solar de la Raza* (Madrid, 1913, 3rd edition), p. 251.

³ For this idea, cf. *Spanish Mysticism: a Preliminary Survey*, p. 44. It reveals one aspect of true mysticism, indeed, but only one.

almost incredible that they belonged to one man, the mystical Loyola, who fixed his eyes on heaven, beheld visions, dreamt dreams, was subject to ecstasy, and the intensely practical Loyola, who kept his eye on the earth, estimated human capacities and weaknesses with the nicety of a diamond cutter, knew how to play upon hope, ambition, desire and fear, was patient, laborious, contriving and full of resources.”¹

What, then, of St. Ignatius the mystic? The true mystic, we know, is normally the most practical of men, but the practical man is by no means, religious though he be, essentially a mystic. Can the *Spiritual Exercises* be termed a mystical treatise? If not, what right has their author to be classed among the greatest Spanish mystics? Is he included in their company by virtue of the recorded experiences of his life?

It is certainly not for the lustre of his name alone that we have placed St. Ignatius unhesitatingly among the greatest mystics of the Golden Age, still less for his achievements as a founder. Though these, by common testimony, were rooted and grounded in the practice of mental prayer,² there are other and clearer witnesses to the strength of his mystical life. He differs in one thing from all the other Spanish mystics who are the subjects of the following chapters: he cannot be wholly judged as a mystic, nor even chiefly, by his writings.³ For so averse was he to the idea that these should survive him that he burned them all some little time before his

¹ Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola*, p. 44.

² Ribadeneira, for example, in his *Vida del bienaventurado padre Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 1594), bk. v, chap. 1, ed. Madrid, 1920, p. 472, says: “There passed not an hour of the day wherein he was not interiorly recollected. . . . Never did he engage so far in outward business as to lose his inward devotion of spirit.” And again (p. 469): “He gave himself particularly to prayer when he was writing the rules and ordinances of the Company, and it would happen that he spent as much as forty days upon one single point of the Constitutions.” The context shows that by prayer is meant mental prayer, or the practice of (mystical) contemplation. See below, pp. 19 ff.

³ This is the reason for the omission of St. Ignatius, except for several references in the Introduction, from *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, which consists essentially in a collection of representative extracts from the writings of Spanish mystics, and an attempt to appraise their merits *on the basis of their writings*.

death. Only the *Exercises* did he spare, and, besides these, we have but a handful of papers which in some way escaped, and which represent the thoughts of a few months only.

II

One may feel a certain compunction, then, in judging St. Ignatius as a mystic by the *Spiritual Exercises*. For he evidently considered them as something other than "writings" in the usual literary sense, looking upon them "less as a thing of his fashioning than a gift of God."¹ Rather than "writings," they are implements, tools, weapons, forged with a definite aim, for the use both of the officers, and of the rank and file, of a spiritual army. Much of their virtue is in the strength of the director who wields them. They are part of the standing orders, as it were, or the training manual, of the Society of Jesus; they have governed its organization, and contributed to its success. And that they should do so was in the mind of their author.

In such a book, made and destined, as it was, to be used, if not always to be read,² by the many rather than by the few, there could hardly be the characteristics of the *Mansions*, the *Dark Night of the Soul*, or the other great works of the Carmelite saints which are to be studied in later chapters. To carry the reader as far as such treatises do, the *Exercises* would need to be many times their actual length, even if the later and more recondite volumes forsook the detail which is a distinguishing mark of the volume we possess. But it may be questioned whether to accomplish such a task as this is within the power of man.

Another reason which makes it difficult to judge St. Ignatius' mysticism from the *Exercises* is that they are not in the accepted modern sense "original." Every page of them, it is true, bears the mark of the most original

¹ Francis Thompson, *Saint Ignatius Loyola*, p. 98.

² For the book is really a manual for directors of retreats. It is not put into the hands of retreatants themselves to be read and used by them as they see fit.

of minds—their author's. But since he was not composing a literary work—and in any case religious writers of that age committed freely what we should now call plagiarism¹—he may have used, and apparently did use, the writings of others, adapting them to his purpose without finding it necessary to quote his sources.

"Spiritual Exercises" were no novelty. Only some twenty years before St. Ignatius went to Manresa, a Spanish Benedictine monk, Francisco García de Cisneros, had published a book, bearing almost this identical title,² which St. Ignatius certainly knew, and almost certainly used. Cisneros, who was a relative of the great Cardinal Ximenes, had been elected Abbot of Montserrat in 1493, an office which he held till his death in 1510. His *Exercises*, written in Spanish and afterwards translated into Latin, were completed in 1500. Like those of St. Ignatius, they have a Directory for their use, and are divided into three parts, corresponding to the Purgative, the Illuminative and the Unitive Way of mystical tradition. Fr. Watrigant,³ who has compared the two works in detail, finds that four of St. Ignatius' Annotations (Nos. 2, 4, 13, 20) and three of the Additions (Nos. 2, 4, 5) have close parallels in Cisneros, and considers that St. Ignatius owed the title of his work, certain points of teaching, and possibly even the main idea of methodical spiritual "exercises," to the Benedictine's compilation. This would represent in itself quite a considerable debt.⁴

¹ See, for examples of this, pp. 398-401, below.

² *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual, compuesto por el V.P. García de Cisneros, O.S.B., Abad de Montserrat*. A modern edition of this work, by P. Fausto Curiel, is published by Luis Gili (Barcelona, 1912).

³ *La Genèse des Exercices Spirituelles de St. Ignace de Loyola*. In "Etudes publiées par les pères de la Compagnie de Jésus," 1897, vol. 71, pp. 525-9; vol. 72, pp. 198-210.

⁴ Fr. Watrigant stresses the following among the points of dissimilarity between the two works: (1) Cisneros writes for contemplatives only, Ignatius for all; (2) to Cisneros prayer is more of an end in itself than to Ignatius, who subordinates it to "ordered action"; (3) Cisneros insists on the actual limitation of days and weeks in the giving of the exercises; (4) Cisneros carries his readers farther beyond the Illuminative Way than does Ignatius; (5) Cisneros' compilation lacks a number of the best known features of Ignatius', e.g., the Standards and the Election. A number of other points of difference of a minor character are added. On this question, cf. also Joly, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-5.

Fr. Watrigant also examines in detail the *Life of Christ* of Ludolph the Carthusian, which there is no doubt that St. Ignatius studied and used. There is less similarity in substance between Ludolph's book and Ignatius' than between the two books of Exercises above-mentioned. The number of small points, however, which they have in common is quite conclusive.¹

Certain other books, known or suspected to have been among those read by St. Ignatius at the time when the *Exercises* were first drafted, may have influenced him strongly. Cisneros' book had had precursors, going back as far as the *Vita Christi* attributed to St. Bonaventura, which had been translated into Catalan at about the time that Cisneros wrote. The *Flos Sanctorum* and the *Imitatio Christi*, in translation (for Ignatius knew no Latin when he was at Manresa), may have influenced him; Fr. Watrigant suggests also the writings of two Brethren of the Common Life, Gérard Zerbolt of Zutphen, and Jean Mombaer of Brussels.² It must not, of course, be forgotten that much was done to the *Exercises* after the Manresa period, which complicates the question of their sources considerably. It is really difficult to say how much of their matter was of St. Ignatius' own invention, and to what extent he simply adapts and arranges the work of others.

We say "simply," but of course if any reader of the *Spiritual Exercises* and their supposed sources thinks the task of compilation to have been simple, he is greatly deceived. "The entire book was *lived* before being written," says Fr. Watrigant finely.³ All that St. Ignatius borrowed, he tested and proved, absorbed and transformed, before making it part of his book.⁴ It is

¹ See Watrigant, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-3, and Malzac, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

² Watrigant, *op. cit.*, vol. 73, pp. 199-228.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 71, p. 511: "Tout le livre a été *vécu* avant d'être écrit."

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 71, p. 511: "S'il a reçu quelque chose d'un autre auteur, il ne l'a reçu qu'après l'avoir contrôlé sur lui-même et en le transformant par une assimilation personnelle." The writer applies (p. 510) to St. Ignatius the saying of Pascal in the *Pensées*: "Qu'on ne dise pas que je n'ai rien dit de nouveau. Quand on joue à la balle, c'est une même balle dont on joue l'un et l'autre, mais l'un la place mieux."

not improbable that as many as twenty-five years went to the revision of the *Exercises* before they took their final form, in which few of the overlayings can be discerned, even by the closest critic. Upon a basis of the writings of others were grafted the life's experience and the life's devotion of a truly singular man. This Annotation or that may come from Cisneros, but the Election, the methods of examination, and many another vital part of the book are the work of Ignatius' own experience and thought. In the foundation of the *Exercises* upon the experience of so extraordinary and so saintly a man lies the secret, humanly speaking, of their power.

Yet by whatever standard we judge the *Exercises*, and from whatever standpoint we view them, we must allow that they do not themselves go far in the making of a mystic. They are not, indeed, meant to do so, for both their founder, and the society to which they especially belong, represent the contemplative-active tendency rather than the attitude of the pure contemplative.¹ Their expressed aim is to train the devout soul in *meditation*, and to guide her in making a choice (or election, as it is usually termed) and resolutions as to a state of life, or (in the words of the first Annotation) "to prepare and dispose the soul that she may remove from herself all disorderly affections, and, when these are removed, seek and find the Divine will in the disposition of her life, for her own salvation."² This is only in a wide sense of the word mystical, and throughout the *Exercises* what we find (very strongly, it may be granted) is the mystical habit of mind, and affinities with mystical teaching, rather than such teaching itself.

¹ Watrigant (*op. cit.*, vol. 73, p. 228) describes it as: "la tendance caractéristique de la Compagnie, à savoir la préférence plus marquée pour l'action et l'apostolat, que pour la contemplation mystique."

² *Ejercicios espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola, en su texto original* (Barcelona, 1892), pp. 9-10. The Annotation begins: "By this name 'Spiritual Exercises' is understood every manner of examining the conscience, of meditation, contemplation, and vocal and mental prayer, and other spiritual operations." Cf. "Presupuesto" (*ed. cit.*, p. 26) where the title of the book is given as "Spiritual exercises for the conquering of oneself, and the ordering of one's life without the influence of any inordinate affection."

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We have the mystic's declared aim, for example, in the fifteenth Annotation :

It is more fitting and much more desirable in these Spiritual Exercises that the soul should seek the Divine will, that the Creator and Lord Himself should impart Himself to His devout soul, embracing her in His love and praise, and disposing her in the way wherein she can best serve Him hereafter. So he that gives the Exercises *should neither lean nor incline to the one side nor to the other, but . . . suffer the Creator to work directly with the creature, and the creature with the Creator and Lord.*¹

The twentieth Annotation uses similar language, describing one of the advantages of performing the Exercises in solitude in these words :

The more our soul finds herself alone and in seclusion, the fitter she renders herself to approach and attain to her Creator and Lord ; and the nearer she draws in this way to Him, the more she disposes herself to receive graces and gifts from His Divine and Sovereign Goodness.²

St. Ignatius never comes nearer to mysticism in his *Exercises* than in passages like these, and we may add at once that in his numerous extant letters only a few such passages can be found, and these mainly allusive. A typical one may here be quoted :

All meditation, where the understanding works, fatigues the body. There are *other meditations*, equally in the order of God, which are restful, full of peace for the understanding, without labour for the interior faculties of the soul, and which are performed without either physical or interior effort.³

It is not difficult to see where St. Ignatius stands in relation to Spanish Mysticism. Primarily concerned with the lower reaches of prayer, he does not cease to call attention to the existence of the higher, disposing and training those souls that are so inclined, and are able, to proceed to it. This, it need hardly be said, is of the

¹ *Ejercicios, ed. cit.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³ Second letter to Sister Rejadella, Venice, 1536. Quoted by A. Poulain, *Graces of Interior Prayer* (London, 1910), p. 45.

greatest service to mystical theology, which has again and again been prejudiced by the zeal of those who with less wisdom and astounding temerity—one need name no names—have endeavoured to persuade souls who have never climbed out of the Purgative Way, and perhaps have no desire to do so, that the mystic's favours are for them.

Fr. Poulain, in an admirable paragraph, has characterized St. Ignatius' work, regarded from the mystical standpoint, thus :

One of the great advantages of St. Ignatius' method of spirituality is that it is a system of good sense and of action, a practical spirituality ; and nothing could be more opposed to the illusion of chimerical desires and a vague sentimentality. It is in full accord here with true mysticism. And it is so also in a more positive way, by helping the soul to mount up with the aid of grace towards the highest sanctity by the gospel paths of renunciation and in the spirit of humility. Fixing its gaze lovingly upon the Divine Master and Model, it removes all obstacles to the Divine action, and prepares the soul in a marvellous way to feel its most delicate touches.¹

Though St. Ignatius is a mystic with a difference, he follows traditional mystical methods in the disposition of his Exercises. The first "week" (or period corresponding approximately to a week) is devoted to purgation : to "meditation with the three faculties (*potencias*)² upon the first, second and third sin," and to the succeeding meditations on sin, death and hell, which are followed by self-examinations both special (*examen particular*) and general (*examen general*). The exercises of the first week are preceded by the warning that the exercitant "must have detachment from all created things" : "we for our

¹ *Graces of Interior Prayer*, ed. cit., p. xvi.

² The mediæval "powers of the soul" : memory, understanding and will. The term *potencias* occurs frequently in the writings to be considered in these pages ; and, as the words used to translate it are not very explicit, the Spanish word will frequently be added in brackets. For an illuminating commentary upon the functions assigned by St. Ignatius to the "powers" individually, see pp. 208-12 of Fr. Longridge's edition of the *Spiritual Exercises* (London, 1919), which I generally follow in quoting from the Directory to the *Exercises*, though not in referring to the *Exercises* themselves.

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part must not desire health rather than sickness, riches than poverty, honour than dishonour, a long life than a short one, and similarly in all things beside."¹

Having led the exercitant into the Illuminative Way, however, by means of this first "week" of exercises,² St. Ignatius makes no attempt to bring him to the higher ways of prayer which form the main theme of the mystics.³ The remaining three weeks are occupied largely with meditations and so-called contemplations on the life and death of Christ, leading from the Incarnation to the Resurrection.

In the thirty-ninth chapter of the *Directory*, St. Ignatius specifically warns those who read it against supposing that, because the different "weeks" of the exercises are said to "correspond" with the traditional threefold way, those who follow them are themselves thereby led into the three mystical states in turn.⁴ While the first week's meditations have a certain "analogy" with the purgative way, those of the second and third week with the illuminative way,⁵ and those of the fourth

¹ *Ejercicios*, ed. cit., p. 27. Cf. "Principio y Fundamento."

² Annotation X, ed. cit., p. 15: "Generally the enemy of human nature is more apt to tempt a person under the appearance of good when he is exercising himself in the illuminative life, which corresponds to the exercises of the Second Week, than in the purgative life, which corresponds to the exercises of the First Week."

³ Suárez argues that the Fourth Week says as much as man can say about the Unitive Way, and that it belongs in a very true sense to that Way. "Our Father Ignatius, while touching upon this last degree which belongs to contemplation, has sufficiently laid down all that has to do with its beginning, and with the form and matter to be made use of and applied, and was content to put the wise in the way; for whatever lies beyond this belongs rather to the teaching of the Holy Spirit than to that of man" (*De Religione*, IX, vi, 9, trans. Longridge, op. cit., pp. 261-2). This is, of course, a point of view that some may take, though what of the greatest of St. Ignatius' mystical contemplatives in Spain and their teaching? In any case it seems not to represent exactly St. Ignatius' own attitude to the question, described in the text, below.

⁴ "It would be a mistake if anyone were to suppose that having gone through the First Week he was perfectly and fully cleansed from sin; and after the Second and Third Weeks, perfectly illuminated; and at last, at the end of the Fourth Week, that he had attained to perfect union with God" (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ Cf. *Directory*, chap. xviii, ed. cit., p. 311: "In this Second Week the end is to set before ourselves Christ our Lord and Saviour as the true Way." "Hence this Second Week answers to the illuminative way, because Christ is the Sun of Righteousness, 'which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'"

week with the unitive way,¹ the parallel is, so to say, upon a lower plane throughout,² and a man cannot, by merely following the Exercises, rise from one degree of mystical progress to another. Most exercitants are probably treading the way of purgation both before and after their retreat:

Even if a man has experienced in the Fourth Week some sweetness or seen the beauty of this unitive way, he ought not on that account to tarry in it without intermission, but should return to the former ways, and for a long time apply himself ordinarily to the mortification of his passions, the practice of virtues, and other similar exercises appropriate to these ways. . . .

This is a matter which depends not on length of time, but on the measure of a man's progress. For if any one should rashly seek to aspire to this unitive way, it would result in great confusion, and altogether hinder his spiritual progress, and moreover expose him to dangers and illusions. He would indeed be acting like one who should wish to pass from the lowest school to the highest, without passing through the middle grades, or to leap from the lowest rung of a ladder to the highest, leaving out those that are between. Thus before a man exercises himself professedly in this unitive way of which we are speaking he ought to be thoroughly purified by the exercises of the purgative way, and then have made good progress also in the illuminative way. For lack of this it happens that many, dancing rather than walking in the way of the Lord, are found after much time and varied labours to be devoid of virtues, impatient, passionate, and with other like imperfections.³

In his use of the word "contemplation," St. Ignatius differs notably from the mystics whose writings are

¹ Cf. *Directory*, chap. xxxvi, *ed. cit.*, p. 339: "The Fourth Week appears to correspond with the Unitive Way, for it is wholly occupied with the love of God, and the desire of eternity, a pattern, as it were, of which is set forth in the Resurrection of Christ and the joys which even in this world have followed it."

² "In them [the Weeks] are declared *the first principles of each* [*sc.* of the three ways]." And "in them we learn *the manner and method which we must subsequently observe* in pressing forward in each of these ways" (*loc. cit.*—italics mine). So Fr. Clare (*The Science of Spiritual Life* (London, 1896), p. 18): "Lastly, when the soul has succeeded in this [*sc.*, the Illuminative process], it is led to a close union with our Lord in mind, and heart, and will, and thus attains perfection here, and is prepared for an everlasting union with Him in Heaven, which was the desire of His Sacred Heart. This is the Unitive process."

³ *Loc. cit.*

studied in the following pages. For them, as will be seen, contemplation refers normally either to the entire mystical progress, properly so called, or to any part of it,—this being the original and the mediæval sense of the word in mystical theology—or to the “simple regard,” the “loving infusion of God”—two typical definitions—which lead the seeker from meditation and the practices of “lower” prayer to the threshold of higher prayer, or contemplation in the former sense. But for St. Ignatius contemplation means meditation of a particular kind—indeed, he sometimes uses the word “meditation” synonymously with it. It is, in short, meditation upon something that can be seen with the mind’s eye, or “imaginative meditation,” and it must be realized that, whenever the word is used in the *Exercises*, it is in this sense. The use made of the imagination, in the so-called “compositions of place,” is one of the strongest points in the technique of the book.

The first exercise will serve to illustrate the use of the word “contemplation” :

The first prelude (*predámulo*) is a composition, seeing the place. Here it is to be noted, that in contemplation, or visible meditation, as the contemplation of Christ our Lord, Who is visible, the composition will be to see with the eye of the imagination the corporeal place where that thing is which I desire to contemplate. I say the corporeal place, meaning, for example, a temple or mountain, where Jesus Christ is, or Our Lady, according to that which I desire to contemplate.¹

This is so clear and simple that it is unnecessary to give further examples.

There is no attempt in the *Exercises* to teach the Prayer of Quiet, nor anything beyond meditation. There are “three ways of prayer,” but they are ascetic rather than mystical. The first is prayer “in relation to the ten commandments, and the seven deadly sins, and the three powers of the soul, and the five bodily senses.”² The

¹ *Ejercicios, ed. cit.*, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 127–32. Cf. *Directory (ed. cit.)*, p. 341, where further details are given, including directions for “lifting these subjects to a somewhat higher level.”

second manner is to "contemplate," in Lullian fashion, the meaning of each word in the prayer, as : Pater—noster—etc.¹ The third manner is "rhythmical" : "with each breath or respiration a mental prayer should be made, and one word be said of the *Pater noster* or of whatever other prayer is being made."² Excellent discipline, indeed, but how far from the "three ways of prayer" of Francisco de Osuna,³ not to say from the Carmelite saints !

III

Few would doubt, after reading the *Exercises* and the *Directory*, that St. Ignatius was himself, in every true sense of the word, a genuine mystic. The study of his life brings certainty. He had practised meditation and interior prayer before he was entirely turned from the world,⁴ during his illness at Loyola. He told Gonzales that most of his first prayers at Manresa were vocal,⁵ though he also told Lainez that he had learned more of the Divine mysteries by one hour at Manresa than all the doctors of the schools could ever have taught him.⁶ However, it is not disputed that he learned the practice of recollection slowly.

By the time that he put himself to school he had made great progress, finding himself frequently lost in mental prayer, if not even in rapture, as he was engaged in the commonest of duties. Of his visions and raptures there are many accounts, historical as well as legendary. At Loyola he had a vision of St. Peter, who promised him recovery from his illness. When his self-surrender was completed, he saw the Mother and Child.⁷ At Manresa he was visited by a supernatural illumination which enlightened him in a marvellous way concerning many

¹ *Ejercicios*, pp. 132-4. Cf. *Directory* (ed. cit.), p. 342.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 134-6. Cf. *Directory* (ed. cit.), p. 343.

³ See *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 66-71, 184-8.

⁴ Genelli, *cit.* Stewart Rose, *Ignatius Loyola and the early Jesuits* (London, 1870), p. 19.

⁵ Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶ *Cit.* Alban Butler, *Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Dublin, 1841), p. 14.

⁷ Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-21.

things of which he had been ignorant.¹ Again, soon afterwards, he was granted a supernatural understanding of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. This particular illumination seems to have frequently come to him, and he wrote down many details concerning it, but destroyed all except a few pages with the rest of his written work. Of the Manresan experiences some account, taken from the *Acta*,² may be given :

One day, as he knelt on the steps of the monastery reciting the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the eyes of his mind were opened, and he saw the Most Holy Trinity as it were under the likeness of a triple plectrum, or of three spinet-keys.

At another time the manner of God's creating the world was most clearly presented to his thought. He seemed to see something white, and rays proceeded from it, and out of it God shed forth light. He never could find words to explain it fully, nor remember the images whereby God imprinted it on his soul.

He saw it once at Jerusalem, and again when walking near Padua, after the same fashion, without distinction of members, he saw the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was no little comforted by these visions, and often thought that even if Scripture had not taught those mysteries of faith, he would have been resolved to die for them after what he himself had seen.

There also [*i.e.* at Manresa] it was that when he was at Mass in the monastery church, and when the Body of the Lord was lifted up, he saw with his mind's eye an appearance as of white rays descending from on high. And, notwithstanding that after so long a time he could not call to mind and explain how he saw it, yet this thing he saw clearly, namely, in what manner Jesus Christ our Lord is present in the Most Holy Sacrament.³

He went to pray one day in a church a little more than a mile distant from Manresa, dedicated, I think, to St. Paul. The road led thither along a river-bank. And on his way, being intent on

¹ Bartoli (*op. cit.*, p. 58) says that Ignatius saw "the whole plan of the Divine wisdom in the creation of the world."

² The English edition quoted is called *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola* (see Bibliography, No. 115). Its sub-title describes its content: Sundry acts of our father Ignatius, under God the first founder of the Society of Jesus, taken down from the Saint's own lips by Luis Gonzales. It is dated August 1555, the year preceding the Saint's death.

³ See *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola* (ed. Rix, London, 1900), chap. iii, pp. 89-90.

prayer, he sat down facing the stream which was running deep. While he was sitting there the eyes of his mind were opened, not so as to see any kind of vision, but so as to understand and comprehend spiritual things such as those pertaining to the mysteries of the Faith . . . and this with such clearness that for him all these things were made new. Neither could he give a plain account of each of them separately, which, though they were many, he had yet comprehended, for a brightness so clear and penetrating illumined the darkness of his mind, that if all the enlightenment and help he had received from God in the whole course of his life down to this sixty-second year, and over, and everything he had learnt were gathered together into one heap, these all would appear less than he had been given at this one time.¹

Like many of the mystics, St. Ignatius had frequent visions of the Sacred Humanity, generally during Mass,² and also visions of Our Lady. Most of these visions appear to have been intellectual or imaginary rather than corporeal,³ and they nearly always were of one or more Persons of the Blessed Trinity or of Our Lady.⁴ Bartoli quotes from the fragments of a spiritual diary which the Saint kept daily, and which, for all its incompleteness, bears ample witness to the reality and frequency of his raptures. It speaks of "supernatural comprehension of the Most Holy Trinity," and "converse with the Divine Majesty." "I felt myself transported into the presence of God the Father." "The Divine Essence appeared to me under a spherical form." "I beheld the Most Holy Trinity as bright light and flames."⁵ So

¹ *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola*, pp. 91-2.

² "When at prayer he often saw for a long time Christ's Humanity with his inward eyes, under a form like as of a white body, neither great nor small, but no member could be perceived therein distinctly. He saw this many times at Manresa, and were he to say twenty or forty times, he could not be positive that he was wrong" (*ibid.*, pp. 90-1; cf. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 47). "Visions fell often to his lot when he celebrated the Sacrifice of the Mass, and again with exceeding frequency when he was fashioning the Constitutions" (*ibid.* p. 195).

³ See pp. 191 ff., below, where the subject of visions and locutions is more appropriately treated at length, for a discussion of these terms.

⁴ *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola*, p. 196: "He showed me a moderately large bundle of papers collected out of his writings, and read me a good number of them. The greater part were visions confirming some of the Constitutions. In these he saw sometimes God the Father, sometimes the Trinity of Persons, sometimes the Most Blessed Mary, now interceding, now approving."

⁵ Bartoli, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 306 ff.

often was he enraptured during the Divine Office that he had to be dispensed from it.

The best known example of St. Ignatius' trances is the eight days' trance at the Hospital of St. Lucy, during which he remained like a dead man. It is commonly supposed that God revealed to him His plans for him as a founder at this time, but he himself left no reason to believe that this was so. Bartoli,¹ however, and other biographers, relate that he frequently assigned, as a reason for some point of government, his having learned it at Manresa. This is not, of course, to say that no plans that he made in later life were the result of later communications. In conversation he frequently spoke of himself as having been a novice at Manresa, and as progressing constantly towards union with God on earth.²

We have only described these supernatural experiences as being testimonies to St. Ignatius' mystical life ; since he himself strove to conceal them, we ought not to enlarge upon them, once they have served their purpose. It is regrettable, from the standpoint of a later day, that in the many volumes of his letters which have come down to us he says scarcely anything of the mystical life. The Spanish editors of these letters may be thought to exaggerate the value even of what little he does say.³ In a few of the letters he makes brief and passing reference to various forms of spiritual consolation⁴—nothing more. There are official documents of the Society in which he writes as its General, letters full of detail as to the govern-

¹ Bartoli, *op. cit.* i, 61.

² Ribadeneira in his life of St. Ignatius (*ed.* Madrid, 1920, p. 411) puts this very beautifully and graphically in Spanish: "Cada día iba Dios en su alma hermoſeando y poniendo con sus colores en perfección el dibujo de que en Manresa no había hecho sino echar las primeras líneas."

³ "Da también doctrina ascética y mística, y hácelo con raro magisterio. . . . Hasta de los secretos de la mística, de los cuales, aunque peritísimo, no gustaba de tratar, hay esparcidas unas como ráfagas de luz admirables que pasan volando, pero en lo poco que duran alumbran mucho. Esta enseñanza la da el Santo, unas veces de propósito, muchas de pasada, las más como disimuladamente en sentencias breves y encendidas, de que están sembradas todas estas cartas ; sentencias en la apariencia sencillas, en la realidad profundísimas, que enseñan a veces más que un libro, y son, para quien las medita, manjar sabroso y lleno de sustancia" (*Cartas*, Madrid, 1874-90, vol. i, p. xx).

⁴ *E.g.*, *Cartas*, *ed. cit.*, 7, 8, 136, 163. See p. 14, above.

ment of the Society, and of its colleges, personal notes to friends in bereavement or sickness, unofficial instructions to those under his rule, letters to kings and princes, bishops and cardinals—and much more. What strikes one in them all is the union of a lofty spiritual tone with a minute attention to practical detail. The finest passages are those which, touching no more than the fringe of mental prayer, are concerned with the cardinal virtues. Obedience, humility and peace are St. Ignatius' master-themes :

I beg you to make yourselves ready for His visitation and spiritual treasures with purity of heart, with true humility, with one mind and will among you, and with outward and inward peace, namely that peace which makes Him that is called Prince of Peace to dwell and to reign in the soul.¹

Those words are in substance the words of more than one of the mystics about to be studied. Even so, again and again, does this or that passage from the *Exercises* anticipate St. Teresa, or St. John of the Cross, Luis de León or Juan de los Ángeles. We can almost hear St. John of the Cross when St. Ignatius writes of having neither wish nor affection for riches rather than for poverty, for honour than for dishonour, for a long life than for a short life, if in either there is equal service of God our Lord and salvation of my soul.²

And which of the mystics can we not hear when St. Ignatius is writing of love ! One has but to read the "Contemplation to obtain love," or so it seems, to hear them all :

Love consists in a mutual communication on either side ; to wit, in that the Lover gives and imparts to the Beloved that which

¹ *Cartas*, 136. Cf. also 304, on obedience, a "perfectísimo discurso"; 718, exhorting certain brothers to peace ; and 746, exhorting to humility ; these last are dated October 18 and November 28, 1555, respectively, a few months, that is, before the Saint's death. Bartoli (English edition, vol. ii, p. 193) relates a frequent saying of St. Ignatius "that the first thought of one who wishes to rise very high should be to descend very low in the first instance, for that the height of perfection is in proportion to the depth of its roots, and that the deeper its foundations are laid, the greater sublimity it will attain."

² *Ejercicios*, ed. cit., pp. 91-2. Cf. *Obras del místico doctor San Juan de la Cruz* (ed. P. Gerardo, Toledo, 1912-14), vol. i, pp. 89-90.

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he has or of that which he has or is in his power ; and even so, in contrary wise, does the Beloved to the Lover. . . .

. . . Take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding and all my will—all that I have and possess. It is Thou that hast given it to me : to Thee, O Lord, I return it : all is Thine : dispose of it wholly according to Thy will. Give me Thy love and grace, for this is sufficient for me.¹

IV

In the chapters which follow there will recur more than once certain themes, which are allied to that of the mystic life, but by no means inseparable from it. We shall be compelled, if our studies of the mystics are to be in the least comprehensive, not only to look at their lives and personalities as well as their teaching, but to examine their attitude to a number of isolated questions with which the nature of their subjects forces them to deal. The mystics cannot avoid, for example, many references to the lower states of prayer, to asceticism, to discipline, to the cardinal virtues, to the Church as an institution, to doctrine and dogma, to contemporary happenings in the religious, and even the political, world. Where their attitude to any such themes as these is a characteristic part of their work we shall of necessity discuss it.

And a number of all-important questions arise more directly from the mystic's chief pre-occupation. What is his attitude to the world outside his soul's retreat ? How far does he regard the creatures of God as a hindrance to his endeavours, and how far as a help ? What is his attitude to Nature ? Does he teach his readers that they should flee from its sights and sounds, or woo them ? Or, to follow another train of thought, is he tempted to be a quietist ? If so, does he fall ? Is his conception of the mystic life that of a struggle or of a sleep ? In practical affairs, again, is his ideal that of efficiency or negligence ? Is the contemplative life, to him, the only one ? Should it, ideally, swallow up the active life, or blend with it ?

¹ *Ejercicios*, ed. cit., pp. 124, 126. "Contemplación para alcanzar amor."

With such questions as these, according to the prominence of each in the writings of this mystic or that, we shall have in due course to deal.

One side of the *Spiritual Exercises* which is distinctly non-mystical is their institutionalism. The greatest Spanish mystics are without exception devout and whole-hearted Catholics, submitting all their writings to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church, in obedience to which, indeed, their works are frequently composed. But they write very little of the Church, and lay hardly any insistence upon forms and ceremonies. They do not neglect or despise them, but they assume them, and their business as mystics is not primarily with them. Consequently they have always had a large body of admirers, readers, and even devotees, outside the Holy Roman Church as well as within it—St. Teresa most markedly so of all. St. Ignatius, on the other hand, writes throughout as one who is framing his *Exercises*, not for “all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours,” but only for those that, in his own words, are “prepared and ready to obey in all things the true Spouse of Christ our Lord, which is our holy Mother the hierarchical Church.”¹ Hence the detailed rules for thinking rightly concerning the Church Militant which take an important place in the *Exercises*: frequent confession, communion and hearing of Mass, “praising relics of the saints, venerating the relics and praying to the saints; praising stations, pilgrimages, indulgences, . . . lighted candles in the churches . . . the ornaments and buildings of churches, and likewise images.”² And precepts such as that of being ready to believe that “the white that I see is black, if the Hierarchical Church so determines,”³ right though they be or wrong, seem strangely at odds with purely mystical writings.

Almost alone of the great Spanish mystics, St.

¹ “Reglas para sentir con la Iglesia.” *Ejercicios*, ed. cit., pp. 196–7.

² *Ibid.*, *Ejercicios*, ed. cit., p. 198. ³ *Ibid.*, *Ejercicios*, ed. cit., p. 201.

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Ignatius finds no place in histories of Spanish literature. The style of his *Exercises* and letters is a complete simplicity, frequently a baldness, of language, as unlike the style of the successful preacher as of the rhetorician or the poet, united to a formlessness of sentence-construction which reveals the fact that he was not in the heritage of the Golden Age of letters.¹ He is always direct, generally vivid,² and never by any chance affected or ornate. More one need not say.

Needless to say, too, that one who was before all things a soldier, and whose whole life was attended by the presence of bodily pain, lays great stress—though not more than do many more purely mystical writers—upon the value of ascetic practices.

External penance . . . is chastisement for sins committed, and is performed principally in three ways. The first is in food : note that when we cut off the superfluous in food, it is not penance but temperance : penance is done when we cut off some of that which it is fitting that we should have, and the more and more we cut off, the greater and better is the penance, provided that the subject be not harmed thereby or notable infirmity follow. The second way concerns sleep . . . The third way is to chastise the flesh, namely by making it to feel pain, which is inflicted by wearing hair-shirts or ropes, or iron chains (*barras*) on the flesh, by scourging or wounding oneself, or by practising other austerities.³

Of such penances as these he writes at comparative length and in detail. His biographers dwell also upon his own austerities, and the reader may learn how at Manresa Ignatius tormented himself to almost the last

¹ Astrain, the great modern biographer of the Spanish Jesuits, goes so far as to say : “ San Ignacio no tiene primores de estilo. Escribe un castellano tosco, incorrecto y premioso, donde sólo llama la atención, de vez en cuando, cierta enérgica precisión, con que ha estampado algunas ideas en frases concisas e inolvidables, lo cual es efecto, no de especiales dotes literarias que el santo poseyera, sino de aquella poderosa intuición con que penetraba profundamente las verdades del orden moral ” (*Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, vol. i, pp. 147-8).

² “ Escoger unas cuantas verdades religiosas, hincarlas en el corazón, dar sobre ellas como con una maza, hasta que el hombre, traspassado de parte a parte por esas verdades, caiga a los pies de Dios . . . ese es el genio . . . de San Ignacio ” (*ibid.*, vol. i, p. 147).

³ *Ejercicios*, First Week, *ed. cit.*, pp. 57-8.

degree of endurance. Though he afterwards modified these austerities somewhat—his practical nature intervening between him and his asceticism¹—he was always a man of ascetic life, doing even vicarious penance if it seemed well to him.

Neither the practical nor the humanistic side of St. Ignatius, to say nothing of the nature of his life's work, would have permitted him to live a hermit's life or to spend his days engrossed in contemplation and regardless of the world around. Almost as markedly as St. Teresa he had the spirit of Martha and that of Mary alike. He could go everywhere, do everything—and everywhere and in everything find God. He desired that those of the Company should accustom themselves to have God ever present in all things. And like so many of his contemporaries among the mystics of Spain he can be unhesitatingly classed as one to whom all created things were as a ladder for the feet of the wise in their ascent to God.²

One of his biographers writes of his love of music :

Music seemed to have the effect of transporting him above all earthly suffering ; and when tortured with agonizing inward pains, he was frequently relieved by listening to religious canticles, sung by the brethren.³

Another shows how, like Ramón Lull and Luis de León, he delighted in contemplating the wonders of the heavens :

He found no greater consolation than in looking up at the sky and the stars, for in doing so, often and long, his soul was strangely impelled, as it were, to seek the service of God.⁴

That St. Ignatius was a true lover of nature all his biographers testify. "Often," says Ribadeneira, "we

¹ In this connexion, see *Cartas* 143, a letter to San Francisco de Borja counselling moderation in penance.

² Cf. p. 88, below.

³ Bartoli, *op. cit.*, bk. iv, chap. 7.

⁴ *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola*, ed. cit., p. 51. Cf. with this passage p. 309, below.

saw him taking occasion in small things to raise his soul to God, Who even in His smallest creatures is to be exalted :

The sight of a plant, a blade of grass, a leaf, a flower, or a fruit, of whatever kind, the contemplation of a tiny worm or an equally insignificant creature would be sufficient to transport him into the seventh heaven. He would penetrate to the deepest hidden recesses of the senses, and from each little thing that he saw he drew most profitable doctrine and counsel for instruction in the spiritual life.¹

Bartoli tells of the delight which he took in the meadows covered with flowers :

They afforded him matter for the most sublime reflections ; he extracted from them as it were the honey of spiritual sweetness. He admired the workmanship, the graceful forms, the variegated colouring, the sweet perfumes of these beautiful creations of the Divine Power.²

There was a certain little garden where he became so enraptured in God that the brethren used to hasten to the windows to watch him. In every place, adds Bartoli, " he beheld God Himself in His works, and from them drew a lesson of the intelligence, wisdom, power and glory of the Heavenly Artificer." ³

Some at least of his love of Nature is mirrored in the *Exercises*. While he is still in the Purgative Way the exercitant must

reflect in turn upon (*discurrir por*) all the creatures . . . and the heavens, sun, moon, stars and elements, fruits, birds, fishes and animals. . . .⁴

And at the last stage—the fourth " week " of the exercises

Immediately upon rising, I am to set before me the contemplation which I am to make, desiring to be affected and to rejoice with the exceeding joy and gladness of Christ our Lord . . . to call to mind and think of things that move to pleasure, gladness,

¹ *Vida*, etc., bk. v, chap. 1 (ed. Madrid, 1920), p. 472.

² *Op. cit.*, bk. iv, chap. 7.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ejercicios*, First Week, Second Exercise, *ed. cit.*, p. 48.

and spiritual joy, such as glory . . . to use light or the conveniences of the seasons (*temporales cómodos*),—as coolness in summer and sunlight or heat in winter—in so far as the soul thinks or conjectures that this may aid it to rejoice in its Creator and Redeemer.¹

In the “Contemplation to obtain love” also :

[I must] look how God dwells in the creatures, giving being to the elements, growth to the plants, sensation to animals, understanding to men. . . . [I must consider] how God works and labours for me in all things created on the face of the earth, . . . as in the heavens, elements, plants, fruits, herds, etc., giving being, preservation, growth, sensation, etc. ; and then I must reflect on myself . . . [I must] look how all good things and gifts come down from above . . . as justice, goodness, pity, mercy, etc., even as the rays of light come down from the sun, the waters from the spring, etc.²

There is yet one other matter which we shall have occasion to consider many times in this study—namely, the author’s conception of the mystic life as an expression of activity or the reverse. Every great mystic of the Golden Age, as we have implied elsewhere,³ is in this sense an active. Ignatius here is wholly at one with them. The *Exercises* are as full of energy as was his most energetic life. There is even less of waiting in quietness upon God and allowing God to work than we should have expected. The author sets ever before his spiritual children the idea of strife and accomplishment. The soldier, the Crusader, comes to the front :

The first point is to set before me a human king, chosen by the hand of God our Lord, whom all princes and Christian men reverence and obey. The second, to see how this king speaks to all his people, saying : My will is to conquer the whole country of the unbelievers ; wherefore whosoever would come with me must be content to eat as I eat, and to drink and clothe himself as I do likewise. Even so must he work as I do by day, and watch by night ; to the end that he may afterwards share the victory with me, as he has shared in my labours.⁴

¹ *Ejercicios*, Fourth Week, *ed. cit.*, p. 123.

² *Ibid.*, “Contemplación para alcanzar amor,” *ed. cit.*, pp. 126-7.

³ *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 43-4.

⁴ *Ejercicios*, Second Week, *ed. cit.*, pp. 62-3.

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Connected with this theme is another : the mystic's estimate of the relative importance of striving and of sitting still, and the significance which he attaches to supernatural favours. Here St. Ignatius is at one with all the great Spanish mystics, and the best traditions of mysticism in every land. He receives such favours as God sends him with a humble and a thankful spirit, but never once suggests that they should either be desired for their own sake, relied upon exclusively, or overprized.¹ He consistently rebuked all those, so Ribadeneira tells us, who "think that all that they feel in their prayers is inspiration and revelation from God."² He urged his disciples, indeed, to practise at all times "devotion and familiarity with God,"³ but to practise it in the spirit of the lines "No me mueve, mi Dios"⁴—neither for hope of heaven, fear of hell, or desire of earthly reward, but from pure and selfless love, such love as Christ bore us.

¹ Ribadeneira, bk. v, chap. i (*ed. cit.*, p. 480). The emphasis of the biographer's language is conclusive: "Cortando toda la curiosidad y deseo y estima de visiones, raptos, arrebatamientos y revelaciones que muchas veces engañan y desasosiegan los corazones livianos y flacos. Cuando el Señor las da se deben aceptar con temor, humildad, agradecimiento y recato, y nunca desear ni apetecer."

² Ribadeneira, bk. v, chap. 1, *ed. cit.*, p. 479. Cf. with this phrase one from St. Teresa, p. 192, below.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

⁴ See dedicatory page, above.

CHAPTER II
LUIS DE GRANADA

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I

OF all those who, in the lifetime of St. Ignatius, were moved to admiration and reverence by his character and achievements, none wrote more cordially and effusively than the veteran Dominican preacher, Luis de Granada, whose work St. Ignatius had himself admired, and indeed recommended his retreatants to study.¹ "I marvel," he wrote to Ribadeneira, "at the life and the heroic and wondrous virtues of that new mirror of virtue and prudence whom God has sent into the world in our days for the salvation of infinite souls."² "What greater miracle could He work than to take a sinful and unlearned soldier . . . and make of him the instrument for the founding of an order which has already brought forth such fruit?"³ Such evidence of a mutual sympathy between two men may well induce us to study them together.

The life of Fray Luis de Granada, though long and busy, was not, in the accepted sense, an eventful one, and it presents few features of unusual interest. For all his renown as a preacher, scholar and man of God, which in his day extended far beyond the boundaries of the Peninsula, his personal history has passed out of the ken even of those who esteem him now most highly, whether as a mystic or as a writer of Spanish prose. The outline of his life may therefore be briefly drawn, in the interest

¹ See the Directory to the *Spiritual Exercises*, chap. xxi (*ed. cit.*, p. 315): "Some book may be read for the remaining time, but of such a kind as will nourish piety rather than busy the intellect with novelties, *e.g.*, passages from the works of St. Bernard or Gerson on the *Imitation of Christ* or Louis of Granada."

² "Carta del P. F. Luis de Granada para el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira, de la Compañía de Jesús," in *Vida del bienaventurado padre Ignacio de Loyola*, por el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira (Madrid, 1920), pp. 5-6. This letter is dated on the eve of St. John, 1584.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8, 28 July [1584].

of those few biographical facts which are of importance as helping to reveal to us Fray Luis the man.

He was born in Granada in 1504—twelve years after the re-conquest of the city—of poor parents named Sarria, who had come from the north of Spain and settled there. His father died when he was five years old, and his mother, left almost entirely without means, became laundress to a Dominican convent, probably to the very Convent of the Holy Cross (Santa Cruz), recently founded by the Catholic Monarchs, which Luis entered as a novice in 1524.¹

Even from childhood he appears to have shown extraordinary precocity in his studies, and certainly after being professed he rapidly attained to an unusual degree of erudition. "He said himself," writes his biographer Muñoz, using a simile familiar to readers of St. Teresa, "that he was like the silkworm, which for many days grows ever greater in its body, feeding upon leaves of various kinds, until it has arrived at a convenient measure, when it sets to work and spins its silk."² So, in 1529, Luis de Granada was unanimously chosen by the convent, before many more experienced and older men, for a fellowship which fell to its gift at the College of St. Gregory in Valladolid. Here he remained for some years,³ and here undoubtedly he laid the deep foundations of those studies in mystical theology to which his writings bear witness. On his return to Santa Cruz he devoted himself to tuition and to the special study of preaching.

¹ He was professed on June 15, 1525.

² Luis Muñoz, "Vida del V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada," in *Obras del V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada* (Madrid, 1788), I. v, p. 30. See pp. 181-3, below.

³ It is known that he entered the College on June 11, 1529, and that the statutes would have allowed him to remain for eight years. The date of his leaving is not found in the College books, but if, as seems to be the case, his successor in the fellowship entered on November 29, 1534, he would have left in the preceding June. All the biographers are vague. Muñoz discusses the question, but will only say with certainty: "Pasado el tiempo que fué necesario residir en el Colegio para acabar sus estudios, dió . . . la vuelta a su Convento de Santa Cruz de Granada"; Joannini has: "Gastó en el Colegio muchos años"; and the rest write similarly. See Muñoz, *op. cit.*, I, v, viii. It was at Valladolid that Fray Luis took the name "Granada," since it was the custom for the students to be named after the convents from which they came. He signed the statute book there as "Sarria."

It was as a preacher that he first attracted notice, and attained to some degree of celebrity. From his earliest days he appears to have shown unusual natural oratorical gifts, combining ease and grace with forcefulness of delivery. He had also the rarer quality of being able to adapt his matter to his hearers. His style was "simple and chaste, yet lofty ; grave, but not without ornament ; homely, but full of meaning ; the style of an orator, yet the style no less of a Christian." ¹

After remaining for some time at Santa Cruz, Luis de Granada was appointed, perhaps in 1544,² to be prior of the convent of Escala Coeli, near Córdoba. The change can hardly have been, at first, an attractive one ; for the situation of his new home was solitary, lofty and wild, his companions of many years had to be left behind, and the convent to which he was going had long been abandoned, so that he had to endure the trials of a founder.³ But like many great preachers he had the genius for solitude. Now, indeed, he would take long journeys both to and from the city and in the surrounding country, for the purpose of preaching. But now, again, he would roam for days at a time through fields and woods, or he would mount a hillock overlooking the neighbouring country, where he had made a refuge from the company of his fellows in a hidden cave near a spring : in this cave he would remain for five or six hours during the day, praying to God and praising Him in psalms and hymns.⁴

After he had been at Escala Coeli for eight years, it

¹ Joannini, quoted by Muñoz, *op. cit.*, I, v, p. 34.

² The chronology of these years is uncertain. Some biographers suggest that he went to Escala Coeli in 1534, but this seems unlikely ; the supposition rests on the date of Clement VII's brief for the re-foundation of the convent, which is 1534, but it is by no means impossible that the project was delayed. In favour of the later date there is the strong improbability of Fray Luis' passing almost directly from Valladolid to Escala Coeli, the consensus of opinion that he completed his studies in Granada, and the maturity of the works written in Escala Coeli, apart from the possibility that he may not have left Valladolid as early as 1534 at all. Certain Dominican chroniclers and Muñoz adopt the earlier date ; Sousa, however, with Arriaga, the chronicler of St. Gregory, incline to the later, and in this they are followed by P. Cuervo.

³ "Partió pues," says Muñoz, unforgettably, "a esta sierra por el clima del cielo y aspereza de la tierra asperísima" (*op. cit.*, I, v, p. 39).

⁴ This detail is from Joannini, *cit.* Muñoz, *op. cit.*, I, xv.

happened that he was invited to preach before the Provincial Chapter. This brought him before the notice of no less a celebrity than the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who invited him to be his chaplain. Fray Luis accepted, but the position was uncongenial to him, an austere and simple-minded friar, and he took the first opportunity of leaving it. The projected foundation of a convent at Badajoz supplied him with an excuse ; at his own request he went there, and it was in Badajoz that he composed the famous *Sinners' Guide* which is still his best known work.

From Extremadura to Portugal was only a step ; it might have been foreseen. Invited by the Cardinal Archbishop of Evora to spend some time preaching in that country, he was treated with singular favour, the fame of his books having preceded him. The Cardinal gave him lodging in a convent near Evora, and on the day after his arrival came himself to him to beg him to hear his confession. He soon became the confessor and friend of Queen Catherine, who was acting then as regent for her grandson.¹ And so he stayed in Portugal longer than he had probably intended : as it proved, he was to stay there for more than thirty years, the remainder of his life. In April 1556 he was elected Dominican Provincial of Portugal,² and soon afterwards might have succeeded, had he wished it, to the Archbishopric of Braga, which, the biographer tells us, "was full of depraved customs and of vices." This offer, however, he declined, as he had done the previous offer of a bishopric, and would consent only to nominate a colleague of his choice.

We may be sure that Fray Luis was glad when in 1560 his provincialate came to an end and he was able to retire in peace to the Convent of St. Dominic in Lisbon. Here he preached and directed much, leading a strictly ascetic life, sleeping and eating little, but, in his leisure,

¹ Juan de Borja, writing to Philip II of Spain on Aug. 6, 1572, says : "Fray Luis de Granada es persona de quien la Reina hace mucha cuenta por su mucha virtud y letras. Escribe cosas muy provechosas."

² Older authorities differ as to precisely when Luis de Granada was elected but P. Cuervo quotes the relevant documents to show that it was in April 1556 (*Biografía de Fr. Luis de Granada* (Madrid, 1895), p. 20).

visiting, teaching and confessing, besides adding to the now considerable mass of his writings.

In more ways than one the last decade of his life was a sad one. In 1578 Queen Catherine died : she had previously resigned the cares of government and embraced the religious life : Fray Luis, her trusted friend, preached her funeral oration. About the same time his writings, for all their fame (or because of it), were attacked for *alumbrismo*.¹ It is true that the attack left him all but unscathed by the Inquisition ;² yet the nature of it, and the fact that a brother-religious was the cause of it, could not but grieve him.³

In this connexion, an event which occurred at the very end of Fray Luis' life gives an insight into the state of mind of the sixteenth century and also into the Dominican mystic's fame. A certain María de la Visitación, the Prioress of a convent in Lisbon, had published abroad reports of miraculous favours and Divine communications which she had received, the most striking being

¹ "Alumbrismo" (illuminism) was a heresy, which flourished in Spain of the sixteenth century, according to which it was possible, by the practice of prayer, to arrive at such a state of perfection that the Sacraments were rendered unnecessary, and there was neither, on the one hand, need to perform good works, nor, on the other, could there be committed any sin. For some interesting notes on illuminism, and its relation to mysticism, see Jean Baruzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix* (Paris, 1924), pp. 251-65.

² This is not, of course, to say that he had never before fallen foul of that body. On the contrary, his *Sinners' Guide*, *Book of Prayer and Meditation* and *Manual of Divers Prayers and Spiritual Exercises* had all been included among books which were forbidden to be read as early as 1559. But Fray Luis appealed to the Council of Trent, which allowed the appeal, and he afterwards republished the books concerned, with some modifications. It may be added that in 1583 the Inquisition paid a public tribute to Fray Luis and other writers, and in the sermon written in his last days, allusion to which is made in the next paragraph, Fray Luis defended it warmly. (See, on this subject, Cuervo, *Fr. Luis de Granada y la Inquisición*, Salamanca, 1915.)

³ Luis de Granada had so many influential and distinguished friends that they cannot all be mentioned here. One of the earliest was Juan de Avila, "con lo cual," says Muñoz (*op. cit.*, I, vii), "hubo ocasión de conocerse y tratarse muy familiarmente, y como dice el mismo Padre Fray Luis, usar de una misma mesa y casa." Among his other friends were St. Teresa, Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, and St. Charles Borromeo, whose representations to Pope Gregory XIII were the cause of the letter being written by the Pope which appears, dated July 21, 1582, at the beginning of the *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe* published in 1584. The letter approves the work of Fray Luis and encourages him to continue in it.

imprints of the Sacred Wounds in her feet, hands and side. The Inquisitor-General, dissatisfied with the reports which reached him, appointed a committee to examine the evidence ; and this, after sitting for three months, sentenced the nun to imprisonment for life as an impostor. Some of the strongest evidence for the defence seems to have been the belief in her of Luis de Granada ; an old man of over eighty years of age, he was regarded as of quite extraordinary sanctity, and on such matters as these, in which it was supposed that sanctity was all-seeing, a man of his renown was considered infallible. He himself, however, not unnaturally resented the imputation of infallibility, and repudiated it, after the judgment had been given, by composing an eloquent sermon on the text : " Who is weak, and I am not weak ? Who is offended, and I burn not ? " ¹

Yet another trial of Fray Luis' latest years was the gradual failure of his eyesight. This had always been weak, and the complete loss of the sight of one eye precluded almost total blindness. For a time he used coloured paper, on which, for example, he wrote a life of that Fray Bartholomew of the Martyrs whom he had nominated to the Archbishopric of Braga. But for the most part he relied upon dictation, especially when, two years before his death, he was smitten with an internal complaint which never wholly left him.

Fray Luis de Sousa, one of the chroniclers of the Portuguese province, has left a realistic picture of his Spanish colleague's life in his last years, and his methods of work. Writing occupied him for the greater part of every day between Mass and Compline, his principal diversion consisting in half an hour or less spent daily with his companions " in great jocundity and merriness." " His manner of procedure in his work," begins Sousa, " was as follows :

First of all he would cause some book to be read to him, to the which he would give ear for the space of an hour, and this reading he reckoned as study, for such aid was needful to him by

¹ See Muñoz, *op. cit.*, II, ix-xiii. A reading of these chapters will give some idea of the immense importance attached to the matter at the time.

reason of the impairment of his sight. Next he would set to work and dictate, walking well-nigh continuously as he spoke, and he dictated as rapidly as though he had before his eyes the matter of his dictation. . . . This exercise he continued until ten o'clock, when he was wont to dismiss his secretary, take up the pen himself, and write until eleven o'clock concerning matters other than those which he had dictated. At dinner-time he would go down to the refectory of the Community, partaking of whatsoever was provided there, and remembering that ancient custom of giving a goodly portion to the poor. If at times, by reason of indisposition, or of being hindered by some grave necessity, he ate elsewhere than at the conventual table, alone, he caused to be read to him, while he ate, some part of that which in the morning he had dictated, and desired to be made in it any alterations which seemed to him convenient. And this he did, either that no time should be wasted, or that he might never eat but when some book was being read, as was the custom in the Community. . . .¹

For many years a daily routine of this nature must have gone on, and book after book, each of unusual length, was added to the output of the famous preacher. It was only in his eighty-fifth year, towards the end of 1588, that an attack of fever, added to the malady from which he was suffering, warned Fray Luis that his last hour was near. We have the fullest record of his latest days. He asked first that the novices might be called, and spoke to them of the love of God and of virtue, and the shortness of life and earthly happiness. Then he desired to be left alone. He had already received the last Sacraments.

"Dost thou believe," it was said to him, "that this Holy Sacrament is indeed Jesus Christ, Son of the living God and Saviour of the world?"

And he answered: "I believe that the glory of God is here, and the bliss of angels, and the Redeemer of the world. And I give Thee hearty thanks, O Lord, for the favour which Thou hast granted me in bringing me to this place. From Thy most holy Hand I receive death without resistance or opposition soever."²

¹ See Muñoz, *op. cit.*, I, xiv.

² This dialogue is quoted literally from a letter written a week later (Jan. 7, 1589) by Fray Juan de las Cuevas to the Prior of the convent of San Estéban, Salamanca.

At nightfall, by his own request, the lighted candle was placed in his hand, and at nine o'clock in the evening he died. It was the last day of the year 1588.

II

Although the complete works of Luis de Granada are of considerable bulk, the standard edition comprising fourteen formidable tomes,¹ he began to write comparatively late in life ; the large majority of his works were published when he was over the age of sixty, and when more than eighty years of age, as we have seen, he was still writing vigorously. The only work by which he was known before he had reached middle life was a translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, or, as it was generally called at that time, the *Contemptus Mundi*. This was published at Seville in 1536.² Although it enjoyed a considerable popularity, running into over thirty editions in the course of the century, it is recognized in later times as being an unsatisfactory version—inferior, indeed, to others which appeared not very much later.³ Fray Luis' brief preface to his translation is of interest to those alone who study him, since it enshrines the fervent affection that he felt for the book, which is, of course, like St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, profoundly mystical in spirit.⁴

The first of Luis de Granada's greatest works was the *Book of Prayer and Meditation*, which appeared in 1554. Its popularity was amazing : in less than five years it

¹ This is the "edición crítica y completa por Fr. Justo Cuervo" published as *Obras de Fr. Luis de Granada, de la Orden de Santo Domingo*, Madrid, 1906-8. To this edition, except where the contrary is specifically stated, references will be made in the following pages when the works of Luis de Granada are quoted, the abbreviated title *Obras* being used for convenience.

² See *Obras*, ed. cit., vol. xii.

³ Notably, to the seventeenth-century translation of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (see his *Obras Espirituales*, Madrid, 1890-2).

⁴ Angel Ganivet (*Idearium Español* (Madrid, 1897), p. 32) makes an interesting if debatable contrast and comparison between the author of the *Imitation* and Luis de Granada.

went into at least eleven editions,¹ and, before the end of this period, its author had laid the foundations of new fame by adding to its two books ² a third, which he published separately in 1556,³ and, eleven years later, enlarged and republished as the well-known *Sinners' Guide*.

The book is concerned with prayer and devotion in the widest sense of these terms, and in all their branches. Of the first part the kernel is to be found in fourteen meditations—one, that is, for each morning and evening of a week. The morning meditations are concerned with the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Our Lord, the evening meditations with life, death, judgment, hell and heaven. The remainder of this part of the book consists of chapters on method in prayer and meditation, of seven counsels on meditation, and, finally, of six themes for meditation in connexion with the Passion of Christ.

The second part of the book deals less with particular exercises than with devotion in general. First, devotion is defined : it is not, as some think, a "tenderness of heart," or a consciousness of supernatural favours, but a continual "readiness" and "effort" directed towards all that is good, which invariably accompanies saintly prayer.⁴ Next, thirteen aids to true devotion are described : some of these are qualities, such as desire, fortitude and diligence, while others are conditions, such as solitude and convenience of time and place, and others again are concrete practices—ejaculatory prayer, corporal discipline and works of mercy. Twelve hindrances to devotion follow—scruples, over-anxiousness, curiosity, indulgence in food, etc.—together with a description of

¹ "Conquista más completa y hermosa del corazón del mundo no se lee en la historia de ninguna obra literaria," writes P. Cuervo (*Fray Luis de Granada y la Inquisición*, p. 5), and I do not know that the statement, bold as it is, can be successfully challenged.

² The original plan of the work provided for three books, but, as the author explains at the end of book ii, "this was not printed, since the volume, with the first two parts, was of so great bulk that there seemed to be no place for a third" (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 433, "Al Lector"). He promises to issue the third part separately, with certain additions, "in another small volume."

³ As a *Libro llamado Guía de Pecadores*.

⁴ *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, bk. ii, chap. i (*Obras*, ed. cit., vol. ii, p. 276). See also *Memorial de la vida cristiana*, in *Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 250-1, for similar definitions.

eight common temptations, and ten final counsels against the wiles of the devil.

Evidently this book has something in common with the *Spiritual Exercises*, in its concern with the ordinary, rather than the exceptional Christian, its emphasis on method, and its use of the imagination. But it resembles it also in being the work of one with the mystical temperament. Even when dealing with the lower reaches of prayer, Fray Luis is mindful of the higher. He allows the narrow definition of the word prayer as a "petition made to God," but commends the ampler description of it as "any raising of the heart to God," embracing thereby explicitly meditation and contemplation.¹ And his own definition of the word, partly borrowed from the Fathers, is essentially that of a mystic :

Prayer is an uplifting of our hearts to God, whereby we become united and made one with Him. To pray is for the soul to rise above itself, and above all created things, and to be joined with God, and engulfed in that ocean of infinite sweetness and love. Prayer is the issuing of the soul to receive God, when He comes in His abundant grace, and the soul draws Him to itself as to His kingdom, giving Him a dwelling-place within itself as it were within a temple, and therein possessing, loving and having fruition of Him. Prayer is the standing of the soul in the presence of God, and of God in the presence of the soul. . . .

Prayer is the Easter (*pascua*) of the soul, a succession of joys in God and embraces with Him, the kiss of peace between bridegroom and bride, a spiritual Sabbath in the which God has delight in the soul . . . a royal door whereby we may enter into the heart of God, the first fruits of the glory that is to come, a manna containing within itself all sweetness, and a ladder like to that which Jacob saw, stretching from earth to heaven.²

Similar definitions are given elsewhere in the book. Prayer is "naught else but a disposition and preparation for grace,"³ "an intimacy of man with God and a union

¹ *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, Prólogo (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 5).

² *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 11-12). Cf. Osuna's description of mental prayer (*Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 65-6, 184) with the whole of this passage, of which only a portion is here quoted. Both authors probably followed St. Bonaventura in part.

³ *Op. cit.*, bk. iii, sermon 1 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 437).

of the spirit of man with God.”¹ In this union “consists the sum of all our perfection.”² The image of fire and wood, which we shall find so often in the authors to be studied in this book, is applied to the mystical union of prayer. God is symbolized by the element of fire, so noble, so active and so ready to communicate its virtue ; the green, damp log of wood is man. No sooner does the log feel the warmth of the flame than it begins to lose some portion of its dampness : gradually it grows more and more like to the fire, though for a long time this is scarcely perceptible, till at last it is wholly consumed by it and both are one.³

Hence, though the declared aim of this book is to give instruction in the lower kinds of prayer, and in meditation, not being expressly concerned with contemplation and the higher mystical states, its author does not hesitate to point the aspirant to these higher states on occasion. All who pray should “do their utmost to raise the spirit to the height of Divine colloquy, that is, until they can speak and treat with God Himself,”⁴ whether in exercises of aspiration, or in deeper intimacy of love. For to Fray Luis, who appears at times to be somewhat impatient of maps and charts of the Mystic Way, there is nothing to be gained by theorising upon mystical favours : divide and subdivide the stages in the ascent of Carmel as we will, God’s power is unlimited, and His grace overflows the channels which we make for it :

All these things are one and the same, or nearly so : devotion, prayer, contemplation, exercise in the love of God, spiritual consolations, and the study of that Divine wisdom so often extolled in Holy Scripture, which is likewise called the loving consciousness of God. All these virtues, though in theory they are separate from each other, go together in practice ; for, where there is perfect prayer, there also is found devotion, and contemplation, and consolation, and very present love of God, and all the rest. So great is the resemblance between these things that the transit

¹ *Op. cit.*, bk. iii, sermon 1 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 439).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 439-440). Cf. pp. 265 ff. below.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. 9 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 242).

and passage from one to another is easy. . . . To treat, then, of the means whereby devotion is attained, is to treat of the means of obtaining perfection of prayer, and contemplation, and the consolations of the Holy Spirit, and the love of God and the wisdom of Heaven, and that most blessed union of our spirit with God, which is the goal of the entire spiritual life : and finally, to treat of this is to describe the means whereby the soul may attain to God Himself in this life. . . . We have here, then, the most lofty theology and the most excellent doctrine of all theology and doctrine that can be taught, for here we point to the road which leads upward to the highest Good, and to a ladder which must be climbed, rung by rung, by him that would have the fruit of the highest bliss which in this life may be gained.¹

Passages like this in the *Book of Prayer and Meditation*, though few, are exceedingly important—the more so, indeed, because of their rarity, for in such a lengthy work they are apt to be overlooked. They show quite clearly that Luis de Granada intended the book to be considered as a preparation for the highest states of prayer, and that he felt strongly the essential unity of the devotional life. Though he says very little of the higher graces, he evidently thinks about them much. Occasionally, we may note, he allows himself to describe them, in spite of their not being meant for those whom he is primarily addressing, but only for such as the Holy Spirit may guide into loftier paths :

There are others who have greater freedom, and in these God closes the vein of speculation, and opens that of affection, to the end that the understanding may be calmed and stilled, and the will may take its rest and delight in God alone, being occupied wholly in the love and fruition of its supreme Good. This is the most perfect state of contemplation, and to this we must ever aspire.²

To those who are anxious to study Fray Luis as a mystic, two further aspects of this book may be commended. The first is the attention which it pays to what we may call the technique of meditation. The counsels of Luis de Granada are full of value to those who would

¹ *Op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 278–9).

² *Op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 430).

use them as aids in training for higher prayer.¹ More especially may be mentioned his exhortations to give more play to the will at the expense of the understanding, to preserve moderation in all things, to think less of "spiritual sweetness," to continue in prayer through times of aridity, and never to rest content with few results when there are many to be gained by seekers that persevere. The second is the stress laid on the relatively small importance of "consolations" (*consolaciones*) in prayer, these being "as it were food for children" and anything but signs of progress.² It is unnecessary to describe the teaching of Luis de Granada on this matter, since it is common to many mystical writers: we shall find it again in St. Teresa,³ and it may well be that she was indebted to this book for her clear and bold presentation of a difficult theme. But whether this be so or not, it is interesting to find Fray Luis treating it at such length.

For the rest, the *Book of Prayer and Meditation* has no very unusual features. It is essentially the manual of a successful preacher: it may well have been based, indeed, partially, upon sermons, for it has all the devices of the pulpit: bold antitheses,⁴ florid rhetoric,⁵ realism which is more effective to the ear than to the eye,⁶ and—this last in great abundance—brief illustrations and telling anecdotes such as we associate immediately with the sermon.⁷ If St. Peter of Alcántara's brief treatise upon the same subject is a masterly work of devotion, he undoubtedly had a masterly original to adapt.⁸ And he did well to adapt it, for the one feature of Luis de Granada's book which militates against it is its length, as he himself in all probability found later.

¹ *Op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 10 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 243 ff.).

² *Op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 358 ff.).

³ See pp. 168-9, 198, below.

⁴ E.g., *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 25, 47.

⁵ E.g., *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 80 ff.

⁶ E.g., *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 184 ff., 209, 220-3.

⁷ E.g., *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 247, 256, 374, 412, 455.

⁸ See *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 17-18, 81-5, 197-200.

A chapter on St. Peter of Alcántara will be found in the second volume of this series of studies.

III

A number of minor works, which came from Fray Luis' pen in the years succeeding that of the *Book of Prayer and Meditation*, may be passed under review very briefly. A *Manual of Divers Prayers and Spiritual Exercises*, published in Lisbon in 1557 (which was followed in 1559 by a second work bearing the same title), consists mainly of extracted passages from the early draft of the *Sinners' Guide*.¹ The first part is intended for beginners, the second for the more proficient, but, though it contains passages of great beauty, it is of small value to the mystic. The view which it takes of prayer, however, is a very wide one, as might be expected, and prepares the reader for its author's later works : prayer is "the business of all times and places," says the preface, and must be "the companion of our life." The words are meant, as the student will discover, to be taken in their most literal sense.

In 1559 Fray Luis published in Lisbon a Portuguese *Compendium of Christian Doctrine*,² which, thirty-six years later, was turned into Spanish. This is not an original work, but is "compiled from divers authors," and was made, in its compiler's own words, "for popular and rustic readers, such as go, all their lives long, without light or doctrine, and without ever hearing words of God."³ Further opuscles appeared in 1561—a "memorial of the duty of a Christian," a work treating of certain prayers which "provoke the soul to the love of God and of the virtues," and the *Vita Christi*, a book "wherein are contained the principal events and mysteries of the life of Christ."⁴ In 1562 Fray Luis published a much better translation than his earlier one—that of the *Scala Paradisi* of St. John Climacus, to which he gave the title of the *Spiritual Ladder*.⁵ The book first

¹ See *Obras*, vol. xi.

² For a modern translation, by P. Cuervo, see *Obras*, vol. xiii.

³ *Compendio de Doctrina cristiana*, Prólogo (*Obras*, ed. cit., vol. xiii, p. 3).

⁴ *Obras*, vol. xi.

⁵ *Obras*, vol. xii.

appeared in Spanish unaccompanied by the name of the translator, and was preceded by a brief life of its author. It is just such a work as might be imagined as appealing to Luis de Granada. Purporting to describe "thirty steps or degrees (*escalones*) whereby men may rise to the summit of perfection," its concern is largely with ascetic counsels, and reflections on life, death and the hereafter. Yet every now and again it fringes the mystical, as in its beautiful and suggestive twenty-seventh chapter, "Of the sacred quietude of body and soul," and in that which follows, "Of the blessed virtue of prayer."¹ This book Luis de Granada translated into nervous, sensitive prose, to which so impartial a critic as Azorín gives the highest eulogies, and the adjective *insuperable*.²

We now come to a longer and much greater work, the *Sinners' Guide*, which, in its final form (1567), has become the best known of Luis de Granada's books abroad, though it is entirely ascetic, and does not, in our judgment, surpass the *Book of Prayer and Meditation*. Its popularity began in Luis de Granada's lifetime, and reached its height not very long after his death.³ Other of Fray Luis' books also contributed to his fame abroad. In England especially he was widely read, so much so that Mr. J. G. Underhill describes him, after long research, as "the most popular peninsular author translated during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign."⁴ A study of Mr. Underhill's bibliography, together with that which accompanies this book, will give some idea of what that superlative means. But, leaving the manifold translations by Richard Hopkins and Richard

¹ *Obras*, vol. xii, pp. 394-420.

² *Los dos Luises* (Madrid, 1921), p. 77: "La prosa de este librito es insuperable." He goes on to describe "la finura y la extremada sensibilidad en que está puesto."

³ The dedicatory prologue to Meres' translation of the *Sinners' Guide*, dated May 10, 1598, speaks of "this reuerend Authour F. Ludouicus Granatensis, whom not onely the spacious Empire of the Latines, but Spayne, Fraunce and Italie have trauailed to see, and tasting the honnyed sweetnes of his celestially ayre, and finding such supernaturall and heauenly treasures in him, have not onely com'd to see him, but haue sent thether their Interpreters, there to sojourne, for the better transportation of his wares and commodities."

⁴ *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* (New York, 1899), p. 207.

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Gibbons of Fray Luis' works made during his lifetime, some of them bearing titles which would now be unrecognizable to Spaniards,¹ we may note here the readable though free translation of the *Sinners' Guide* made in 1598 by Francis Meres. Though as a Protestant he would naturally find in it "certaine corruptions, which as dangerous rockes threatened shipwracke to them that sailed unto him," he also refused to be discouraged "for a few corruptions and dangers," but recommended to his readers "all the workes of this reuerend Diuine" as "profitable for instruction in religion, and very auailable for perswasion to good life." And the *Sinners' Guide*, he expressly stated, seemed to him to be the best of them all.²

The book may be said to treat, in its author's words, of the practice of "virtue" and the "service of God." Why are we bound to live virtuously? it first enquires: the answer to the question involves a discussion of our creation, redemption and sanctification, and of the themes of death, judgment, heaven and hell. The author proceeds to consider the "privileges of virtue"—the knowledge of God, the joys of prayer, the peace that passes all understanding, and so on. Various classes of objection to the spending of one's life in the service of God are then dealt with. Of the remainder of the book, the greater part is devoted to counsels against the seven deadly sins and certain venial sins, and to the steps which a man must take to order his life so that it may be a life of virtue.³

Two years earlier than the *Sinners' Guide* there was published in Lisbon the *Memorial of the Christian Life*,⁴

¹ E.g. *Granados Spiritual and Heavenly Exercises*, *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado*, *A Paradise of Prayers*, etc. See Bibliography, below, Nos. 277, 285-6.

² All these quotations are taken from the prologue of Meres' translation. Further examples of his eulogistic commentary will be found in the preface to *Granados Devotion* (Bibliography, No. 279) a "learned and religious booke" by "that rare and matchless Diuine F. Ludouicus Granatensis," whose style is described as "heauenly and exact."

³ The *Sinners' Guide* forms vol. i (*Guía de Pecadores*) of Cuervo's edition of *Obras*, etc.

⁴ *Obras*, vol. iii.

which, with the *Additions* of 1574,¹ contains the definite contributions to mystical literature which Luis de Granada made. At first glance, it seems hardly more mystical in nature than are the works already dealt with. The first part of the principal volume is, apart from isolated passages, entirely ascetic : its seven "considerations which may aid us to have sorrow for our sins and to abhor them," its seven counsels on confession and three methods of making satisfaction follow familiar lines. Nor does the second part, although its three sections deal with vocal prayer, mental prayer, and the love of God, appear to advance us very far. Imbued with the mystical spirit, we say, it undoubtedly is, but it hardly does more than touch upon mystical themes. A large part of it is made up of prayers, which Fray Luis had already composed, or translated from early Christian sources, and published separately, and these add considerably to the value of the *Memorial*. But they do not, says the reader in some perplexity, make it mystical.

The truth is, as with the *Book of Prayer and Meditation*, that Fray Luis does not distinguish carefully between the various mystical states, and consequently gives no clear idea of the mystic's progression. We find him writing suddenly of the Unitive Life, then descending to the level of vocal prayer, then passing on to a state which he describes as "contemplation," the nature of which seems to be similar to Osuna's "Prayer of Recollection,"² or St. Teresa's "Prayer of Quiet."³ This is Fray Luis' practice in each of the three sections just referred to, and we must not therefore expect to find anywhere in them an orderly presentation of the aspirant's progress toward union.

Nor do we find it. The section on mental prayer is typically disappointing. We are certainly not prepared for definitions of mental prayer like these :

Mental prayer is that (state) wherein we think attentively upon the things of God, and represent our necessities to that Lord to

¹ *Obras*, vol. iv.

² See pp. 100 ff, 176-9, below.

³ See pp. 156-9, 169-74, below.

Whom the language of the heart is no less clear than the language of the tongue.¹

We have already said that there is no essential difference between vocal and mental prayer. . . . Both have the same office, which is to beg our Lord for alms : one uses the heart alone, and the other the heart and the mouth jointly.²

It is true that to the latter of these passages is added this qualification :

It is to be noted that we likewise apply the term mental prayer to meditation and reflection upon the things of God, although when we are occupied therein we ask for nothing.³

But one feels that this represents a retrogression from the attitude of the *Book of Prayer and Meditation*, and realizes that little can be hoped for from the section on mental prayer. In the chapters which follow there are some wise counsels on what we have termed the technique of meditation, but the remainder of the section consists principally of a series of imaginative meditations based on Gospel narratives, from the Annunciation to the Ascension.⁴

The final *tratado*, "Of the love of God," plunges the reader at once, as will be seen from later quotations, into the genuine atmosphere of mysticism. Some of the chapters—those, for example, on austerity of life—are no more essentially mystical than those in the earlier sections ; but the opening pages of this final section, on the nature and perfection of love, and the desire for God, are as truly so as can be imagined. The same applies to some of the "counsels for those that seek the love of God," and of the final prayers.

The *Additions*,⁵ which appeared in two volumes in

¹ *Memorial de la Vida Cristiana*, bk. v, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 288).

² *Op. cit.*, bk. vi, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 376).

³ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 377).

⁴ As a study in method the exercises of these chapters may be profitably compared with the Ignatian exercises in "contemplation," which in some ways they resemble strongly.

⁵ The full title of the book is as follows : "Additions to the Memorial of the Christian Life, composed by the Reverend Father Fray Luis de Granada, of the Order of St. Dominic, wherein are contained two treatises, the one upon the perfection of the love of God, the other of certain of the principal mysteries of the life of Our Saviour" (*Obras*, vol. iv).

Salamanca (1574), begin with a "book" or "treatise" on the love of God, "in the perfection whereof consists the perfection of the Christian life." Much of this, at least in its early pages, is as truly mystical as are the chapters of the *Memorial* just mentioned: indeed, it may be said in some degree to carry on the theme of that book, though later the author returns to the evidential arguments which he had already outlined in the *Sinners' Guide* and elsewhere, and was eventually to develop and collect in the *Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith*. The second part of the *Additions* is composed of meditations on the life of Christ, which are an enlargement of those found at the end of the *Memorial*. Some of the pages in the *Additions* are among the most eloquent which Fray Luis ever wrote, and, although the matter of these is not always of sufficient relevance to our general subject to make quotation desirable, they would take a prominent place in any adequate anthology from Luis de Granada's writings.

Although he republished and revised his works so often—summarized this book, quoted from that, and developed and enlarged his own writings till he might appear to be repeating himself, and doing nothing more,—Fray Luis was always fully convinced of the necessity for such a procedure and defended his methods warmly. His writings enjoy in our day so secure a place in the history of Spanish literature that one is apt to forget that he did not write as a literary man, but as a preacher. To restate his arguments, to drive home his appeals by reiteration and development, was to him merely a surer way of finding a reception for his message. Hence such a passage as the following, from the preface to the *Additions*:

And let none think it superfluous that I should write two treatises upon the love of God, since there remains so much to say upon the excellences of this virtue . . . that though there were written thereon an infinitude of books, the matter could never be exhausted. I will endeavour (in so far as my memory may aid me) to repeat in this book naught that is said in the other, since I shall proceed in the same order, namely that which the

matter requires. And since for our sins we see daily that more and more books of chivalry, and other such lying fables, are added to those that already exist (wherein no fruit may be had but vanity, dishonesty and loss of time), is it too much that to the books which treat of the love of God and the works of His most holy life (in the contemplation (*contemplación*) whereof consists much of our happiness in this world) should be added others daily, which spur us on anew to the love of God and of every virtue? ¹

IV

The huge *Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith*, begun in 1582-3, when this wonderful old man was nearing his eightieth year, and finished some six years later,² need not long detain us, though we shall quote from it at some length in a later section. It occupies no less than five volumes of Cuervo's edition, or nineteen hundred large pages.³ But it is best described as an *apologia* for the religion of the Creed, and hence, though of great interest in other respects, it reveals little of Fray Luis the mystic. The first part sets forth the "benefit to be derived from a consideration of the works of nature: the heavens, the four elements, the animals, the human body, the senses and the mind. The second part shows the necessity of faith, and then proceeds, with many digressions upon martyrs and miracles, to describe under sixteen heads the excellences of the Christian religion. The third part deals with the subject of original sin, expounds the doctrine of the Atonement, and, under twenty heads, describes the "fruits" which have been borne by the "tree of the Cross." The fourth book enlarges further upon the Redemption, dealing more especially with the Old Testament prophecies which foretold it. This is followed by eleven brief dialogues or instructions on the Catholic faith, and finally by a summary of the whole work for those without time to study it at length. This last, however, contains many additions, and might

¹ *Adiciones*, Prólogo (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 8-9).

² Possibly it may have been completed as early as 1585. See *Obras*, vol. ix, Prólogo.

³ *Obras*, vols. v-ix.

almost be considered as an independent work. Together with it was published a brief treatise upon the manner of presenting Christian doctrine to the newly converted.

Only here and there in this work does Fray Luis even hint at the mystical life. In the third part the fifteenth sub-heading describes as one of the fruits of the Cross that it furnishes matter for "most devout and lofty meditation and contemplation," but the content of the chapter in question implies that the latter word is to be taken in something like the Ignatian sense.¹ Apart from some counsels on meditation,² the mentions of rapture and ecstasy in the dialogues of Part IV,³ a number of suggestions of nature-mysticism in Part I, a stray reference to the life of contemplation,⁴ and a considerable use of Dionysius,⁵ there is nothing which can be described as mystical, except in the very widest sense, in the entire work.

Only a short span of life remained to the aged writer when the *Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith* was completed, yet even his last months have something to show. A strange variety of material is brought together in the final volume of Cuervo's edition of his works. The sixty letters which the editor has collected have little but historical and biographical interest. The book of *Spiritual Doctrine* has a similar claim upon the student, since it contains the third, and perhaps the best, of the *résumés* which Fray Luis made of his *Book of Prayer and Meditation*.⁶ Apart from this it has little interest, and no importance. The volume also contains some biographies by Fray Luis of his contemporaries: the chief are those of Bartholomew of the Martyrs, already mentioned, and of Juan de Avila, who will form the subject of a later study.⁷ This latter was published in the very year of

¹ *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe*, pt. iii, chap. 21 (*Obras*, vol. vii, pp. 129-134).

² *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. vii, p. 133).

³ *Op. cit.*, pt. iv, Diálogo VII, ii (*Obras*, vol. viii, pp. 282 ff. *passim*).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 26 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 239).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 38 (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 327 ff.).

⁶ The first was made about 1557-9 at Lisbon, the second was published at Salamanca in 1574. See *Obras*, vols. x, xi.

⁷ In the second volume of this work.

its author's death ; we find accompanying it what was almost certainly Fray Luis' last production—the sermon, written from his death-bed, on the theme “ Who is weak, and I am not weak ? Who is offended, and I burn not ? ”¹ Its author did indeed glory in his infirmities, the reader may think, as he remembers the words of St. Paul,² and wonders at the vigorous, effective style of the dying preacher. It was well said of Luis de Granada that he “ died writing.”

V

This brief review of Luis de Granada's principal works may well have given the reader occasion to doubt if their author can properly be termed a great mystic—in the more restricted sense of that word—at all. Has he as much of the mystical spirit, it may be asked, as even St. Ignatius of Loyola ? Does he not rather belong in reality to the ascetics ? Do more than a few short passages differentiate him from such writers as Hernando de Talavera and Alejo de Venegas³ ?

It has certainly been both implied and stated that Fray Luis is not a mystic, but only an ascetic, a moralist and a preacher ; that his so-called mysticism is no more than “ faith sublimed to ecstasy ” ; that he says little of the higher paths which lead upwards to the summit of the unitive life because he has nothing that he can say—no experience of them, either personal or acquired. This view, we think ourselves, is an unjust one. That Fray Luis is not most convincing, as a rule, in the passages where he speaks of higher prayer, may be admitted. This we may ascribe to two facts. First, he is *mainly* (which is not to say *wholly*) an ascetic writer. Like St. Ignatius he makes his principal business the direction of those who are travelling upon the lower roads of prayer, and the preparation of them for journeying higher.

¹ See p. 38, above.

² 2 Cor. xi, 29–30.

³ Writers who appear as Spanish mystics in the “ Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,” but are not in the strict sense mystical at all—except perhaps by flashes. See *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 10–11.

Secondly, since he is dealing with the secrets of mystical theology in books not intended wholly for mystics, he not unnaturally relies, more generally than elsewhere in his works, upon quotations from the Fathers or other recognized authorities, rather than upon his own experiences. One is continually pulled up by such reminders as "Thus far I have been quoting St. Augustine" or "These are the words of St. Bonaventura." Had he been writing for a select body of *ejercitados* he would no doubt have written far more personally and freely.

We believe that the few extracts already made from the *Book of Prayer and Meditation* show clearly that, whatever the extent to which Fray Luis appears as a mystic in his writings, he was undoubtedly a mystic at heart. Our aim now is to collect his chief mystical passages, and endeavour to form an idea of his conception of the life of higher prayer.

At the beginning of the final section of the *Memorial of the Christian Life*¹ it is evident that he is thinking in the main of the life of union : the quotations from St. Bernard alone which he uses to express his meaning could hardly apply to any lower state than this. Of such a state he says that it is the pearl of great price, for which those that would gain it must strive without cessation. Quoting an unnamed authority (probably St. Augustine), he declares that, until a man that is seeking this treasure finds it, and "embraces it with the arms of love," he will ever be "distracted and without tranquillity, afflicted and without rest, hungry without true satiety."² Nor can he by his own efforts attain to the repose which he desires : only the contact of Divine love can give it him.³ But once he has attained it, he enjoys a "marvellous tranquillity and freedom of spirit,"⁴ which is entirely unaffected by anything that may happen to him in the world :

He seeks no earthly consolations in the world without, for within himself he has that which is an ocean of consolations

¹ *Memorial de la Vida Cristiana*, bk. vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 533 ff.).

² *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 537).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 538).

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inestimable and of all things that the human heart can desire. And in such wise has he contact with the joy and knowledge of God, through his own experience thereof, and so clearly does he penetrate the truth of the mysteries of the faith, that if every man upon earth should say to him : "Thou art deceived, wretched one, thou art deceived, for the things of the faith which thou professest are not true," he would answer with confidence : "It is ye that are wretched and are deceived, for that which I believe is the supremest truth." And this he would answer with the greatest certainty, not only because of the light and the habit of faith which incline him thereto, but likewise through the experience and fruition which he has of God, Who is so great and so marvellous that when He enters a soul with abundance of His gifts, He bears with Him the signs and indications of Who He is. And those who in this wise are united with God, cannot fail to be His most familiar friends, and thus in their prayers they oft times win for the Church greater good in one hour, than do others, who are not in the same state, in many years.¹

The mystic in this state of bliss is raised far above all the cares and troubles of this world, above the fear of death, hell and purgatory. Trusting in God, and closely united with Him, he has set the world, as it were, beneath his feet :

Neither the company of men nor outward occupations keep back such souls from the inward presence of God, for they have been taught and accustomed to preserve a unity and simplicity of spirit in the multitude of their business, like those whose feet are stablished for ever, and whose hearts are perpetually turned towards God. . . . These souls, when within themselves they are occupied and united with God, are as it were out of the body : they see as though they were blind, hear as though they were deaf, and speak as though they were dumb. For their spirits are wholly absorbed (*trasladado*) in God, so that they go about among the creatures like men that are beside themselves. In this way they live a life of angels, a life that is superior to nature. They may be called angels upon earth, since only their bodies have to do with things of earth, and, as to the rest, they are in heaven.²

Now such is not the description of the unitive life which we shall find in the works of the greater Spanish

¹ *Memorial de la Vida Cristiana*, bk. vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 538).

² *Op. cit.*, bk. vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 538-9).

mystics who followed Luis de Granada. Some of them at least rather labour the fact that the mystic in union is, except at times of rapture, singularly alive to the duties of this world, though his inmost self be elsewhere.¹ It must also be admitted that the description has less of the genuinely personal ring than might be wished. But no one will doubt that it refers to a lofty mystical experience.

This becomes even clearer when we find that to describe the steps leading up to it Fray Luis employs the well-known figure of the eight degrees of love, with reminiscences of Richard of St. Victor.² The experimental knowledge of the goodness, sweetness and nobility of God leads to the inflaming of the will ; “ from this is born a marvellous delight, thence a most ardent desire for God, from this desire a fresh satiety, from the satiety an inebriation, and thence a security and a perfect repose in God, wherein our soul rests and has its spiritual Sabbath.”³

After enlarging upon this progression, and saying something of the qualities necessary to the mystic, Fray Luis returns to his attempts at description of the summit of the ascent. He first employs the words of St. Thomas and St. Augustine, and afterwards continues in what is for the most part his own language :

When a man in this mortal life reaches so high a degree of love that he despises all things that perish, taking therein no undue delight or pleasure, but fixing all his pleasure, love, delight and care upon God, and this so stedfastly that his heart is continually (or all but continually) set upon Him, so that apart from Him he finds no rest, but finds it in Him alone ; when after this manner he dies to all things, and lives only to God, and the greatness of his love makes it to triumph over all love else, then will he have entered into the cellar of precious wines of the true Solomon, wherein, inebriated with the wine of this love, he will forget all things—yea, he will forget his very self—for His sake.⁴

¹ Cf. p. 162, n. 3, below.

² *De quattuor gradibus violentæ charitatis*.

³ *Memorial de la Vida Cristiana*, bk. vii, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 539).

⁴ *Ibid.*, bk. vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 545).

Having said so much, Luis de Granada now for the first time uses the language of mystical theology, and names the state he has been describing "unitive love." His language is, however, less strong than that which is used on occasion by some of the authorities whom he quotes. "Its nature," he says, "is to unite the lover with the object of his love, in such wise that apart from it he finds no rest, and has his heart ever fixed upon it."¹ In the *Additions* he goes farther, and describes the state of unity as the "transformation of the soul in God Himself."² Though he never loses himself in what the sceptic would consider hyperbole—as St. John of the Cross does, for example—Fray Luis uses all his powers of direct description to emphasize the intimacy between Lover and Beloved :

What the Beloved wills, that the soul wills ; that which displeases Him, displeases her ; that which He loves or hates, that she loves or hates likewise, making no account of herself, her profit, her honour, or her contentment, but only of the contentment and honour of God ; so that in all and through all she comes to have one willing and one nilling (*un querer y un no querer*) with Him—her will is one with the will of God.³

Few, if any, who know the heights to which the greatest Spanish mystics ascended, would claim for Fray Luis that this degree of union is identical with the summits of their lofty experience. Throughout Luis de Granada's descriptions of the life of union the careful reader may detect the note of qualification which recurs continually, and the friar seldom speaks of this state with any boldness. The only unitive life of which he writes with real eloquence, and with a fine carelessness of language, is the life beyond the grave : what God "grants to His familiar friends in this valley of tears" is "some little part of its fruition," "some foretaste of the celestial feast."⁴ That this is a high mystical state we have made clear. The point which is difficult to

¹ *Memorial de la Vida Cristiana*, bk. vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 546).

² *Adiciones*, etc., pt. i, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 31).

³ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 32-3).

⁴ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 29).

determine is how often Fray Luis is referring to it in his writings in numerous ambiguous passages. He would seem to have it in mind, for example, in the *Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith*, when he divides all Christians into the mystical and the non-mystical type.¹ But does he refer to it, or has he rather in his thoughts some undefined state of illumination, when he writes in the *Book of Prayer and Meditation* of the "making of man one spirit with God,"² the "joining of man with God and uniting the spirits of man and God"³ which is another name for "perfect prayer"²? So vague—and, as we have remarked, so intentionally vague—is Luis de Granada on this matter that it is probably impossible to answer this question, and others like it, with complete assurance.⁴

Intentional, too, must be his neglect to describe in detail the mystic's progress beyond the point where meditation ceases and gives place to higher prayer. He is concerned to show something of the marvellous perfection of the goal, to arouse within his readers the desire to attain to it, and to lead them along the early stages of the way. All this he does as well as it has been done by any, if we bear in mind the wide extent and the nature of his audience. Not only does he describe the beauty of the unitive life in the absolute and objective fashion of his successors in Spain, but he shows, as St. Augustine in classical passages had shown, that it represents the natural goal of human desires. What else can the spirit of man long for? "The heavens, the earth, the sea—all visible

¹ *Introducción*, etc. : "Compendio" II, vii (*Obras*, vol. ix, p. 86) : "There are two ways of life in the Christian religion : one is the way of those that keep its commandments faithfully ; the other, of those that strive also to observe its counsels. . . . By the second class we understand those that renounce worldly affairs and anxieties, and engage but in one occupation, the dedication of themselves to God, so that they may unite their spirits with Him in continual and most ardent love."

² *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, bk. ii, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 281).

³ *Ibid.*, bk. iii, Sermon i (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 439).

⁴ A similar difficulty would doubtless have arisen with regard to St. Teresa had she left us no record of her spiritual progress more advanced than the *Book of her Life*. The study of a mystic like St. Teresa, whose writings allow us to see the different stages of her development, and lead us in the end to an unusually high plane, is the best—and perhaps an essential—preliminary to the reading of a less complete mystic such as Luis de Granada.

things—are so much less than man. . . . Only God is infinitely greater than he, and therefore with Him alone can man be content, and with nothing less.”¹ Every created being conceives of happiness as the attainment of its instinctive longings—that is, the discovery of its “centre” and its “final end.”² “And, since God is the supreme Good, the final end, and, as it were, the centre of the rational creature, it follows that the attainment of this supreme Good must mean supreme joy, which is reached not with labour but with aspiration (*no con los brazos sino con los abrazos*)—that is, through the union of holy love.”³

As to the manner of attainment, “not any degree of love will bring this inward peace and fulness, but perfect love alone.”⁴ Man’s efforts of themselves will not suffice : the supernatural grace of Divine love must work upon the soul, for this is not only the inspiration and motive force which can be found in practice behind the mystic life, but it is an indispensable condition of progress.

Still, in the aspirant there are postulated certain qualities, and a certain state of mind, the principal element in which is desire. Fray Luis writes vividly and realistically of this. So active and ardent is the desire for God which springs from an experimental knowledge of His goodness, that “there are hardly comparisons which can explain it.”⁵ “Great is the desire of the miser for money and the desire of the ambitious man for honour ; both ambitious man and miser strain every nerve to attain them and turn the world upside down.”⁶ But they are of small account by comparison with this desire, which proceeds from a nobler source, aspires to a loftier goal, and therefore is of all incomparably the greatest.”⁷ With this desire moving the soul, it “burns and seethes” as it

¹ *Memorial*, etc., bk. vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 537).

² *Adiciones*, etc., pt. i, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 28).

³ *Ibid.*, cf. p. 175, n. 5, below.

⁴ *Memorial*, etc., bk. vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 539).

⁵ *Ibid.*, bk. vii, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 550).

⁶ The Spanish metaphors—“*beben los vientos y trastornan el mundo*”—are even more forceful and picturesque than the English equivalents.

⁷ *Memorial*, etc., bk. vii, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 550).

considers the ideal before it. And this is but natural, for the greater are the rewards, the greater must be the yearning for them.¹ Let us, then, exercise our desire as ardently as we may, for the utmost extent of our capacity falls short of what we owe to God, Who is our Goal.²

When all is said, the mystic life as figured by Luis de Granada is in its essence a life of continual desire. We must study "to be ever loving God, ever begging and desiring this love, importuning Him with faith, humility and devotion, calling to Him from the depths of the heart, and praying Him for a spark from the Divine fire."³ Let but that be done, and let numberless souls set out upon the mystic road of desire, their gaze fixed steadily and continually upon their goal, and the Love which kindled their aspirations will Itself guide them along their way.

"Then who, O Lord," prays the mystic, "is all my well-being, who is my final goal, but Thyself?"

Thou, O Lord, art the goal of all my journeys, the safe harbour of my voyages, the crown of all my desires. How then shall I not love Thee with this love? The fire and the air rend the mountains, and cause the earth to tremble when they are beneath it, and would rise to their rightful place. Then how shall not I break through all creatures, how shall not I make a way through steel and through fire, till I come to Thyself, Who art the place of my rest? Into a receptacle made for some vessel naught but that vessel will go. Then how shall my soul, a receptacle which Thou hast fashioned for Thyself, be content with aught but with Thyself alone? Remember then, O my God, that as I am for Thee, Thou also art for me. Flee not from me, O Lord, lest I attain not to Thy Presence. Slow, slow are my steps, oft times I halt by the way, and oft turn back: be not weary, O Lord, of waiting for one who follows Thee not with equal step. . . .

May I love Thee, then, O Lord, with the straitest and most fervent love. May I stretch out mine arms—yea, all my affec-

¹ *Memorial*, etc., bk. vii, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 551).

² *Ibid.* The original is more epigrammatic than this: "Deseemos, pues, hermanos, todo cuanto pudiéremos, pues no podemos cuanto debemos."

³ *Adiciones*, etc., pt. i, chap. 11 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 98).

tions and desires, to embrace Thee, sweetest Spouse of my soul, from Whom I hope for all good. The ivy clings to its tree in every place, so that the whole of it seems to be throwing out arms to grasp the tree more closely, for by means of this support it mounts on high and attains what to it is perfection. And to what other tree but to Thyself must I cling, that I may grow and attain what I lack? The ivy-plant clinging to the tree grows not more nor throws more widely its lovely branches than the soul grows in virtues and graces when it clings to Thee. Then how shall I not love Thee with all my soul, and strength, and powers? Help me, my God and my Saviour, and raise me on high in quest of Thyself, for the grievous weight of this mortal life drags me downward. Thou, O Lord, Who didst mount the Tree—even the Cross—to draw all men unto Thyself; Thou Who with so vast a love didst unite two such contrary natures in one Person, to make Thyself one with us, do Thou grant that our hearts may be united to Thee with so strong a band of love, that they may at last become one with Thee, since Thou didst unite Thyself with us, that we might be united with Thyself.¹

VI

The outstanding characteristic of Luis de Granada's writings, whether they be considered from the literary or from the mystical point of view, is the place which is given in them to Nature. Spanish literature is not remarkable for the tribute which it pays to natural beauty, and it might be expected that the Spanish mystics would conform to the type which rejects intermediaries between the soul and the Reality it seeks to experience rather than to that which gladly and deliberately mounts by way of Nature till it attains to Nature's God. On the contrary, though some of them do so, the exceptions, as will be seen in these studies, are of far greater importance, chief among them being the Dominican, Luis de Granada, and the Augustinian, Luis de León.

Luis de Granada draws upon Nature in two capacities—as an apologist, and as an ascetic and mystic. The former use is the more noteworthy of the two, for it is

¹ *Adiciones*, etc. ("Consideraciones de las perfecciones divinas," v); *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 223 ff.

illustrated by nearly the entire first part of the *Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith*. All the observation and reading concerning Nature which the aged Dominican had put into seventy-eight years of his life is to be found, and lies enshrined in eloquent language, in that book, the aim of which is to praise God for His goodness in Nature, and to lead others, by meditating on this, to a belief in His power and benevolence :

It will lead us to give thanks to God for His benefits, when we consider that this fabric of the world, which is our dwelling-place, was created by the sovereign Lord, not only for the provision of our needs, but even more that through the knowledge which we have of the creatures our spirits may rise to a knowledge and love of our Creator. . . . This instruction will serve likewise to strengthen our confidence, if we consider how perfectly God's infinite goodness provides the brute beasts, howsoever small they be, with all that they require. . . . Thirdly it will serve to give spiritually minded persons copious material for thought, when they behold in the creatures the beauty, wisdom, goodness and providence of their Creator and Governor.¹

So, in the course of the book, Fray Luis marshals the arguments from Nature as to the existence and goodness of God, and both defends and exemplifies the practice of "mounting by the staircase of the created world to the contemplation of the beauty and wisdom of its Creator."² In doing so he gives the fullest expression to his own love of Nature. No part is there of her treasure-house but delights him. The country-side, "decked out with flowers, plants, trees, cornfields," the perennial springs, the cool rivers with their banks rich in verdure, the high hills, the fields and plains—all tell him the same story.³ The heavens, "so far above our dwellings, bounding and embracing all things,"⁴ move him to even greater eloquence. The sun, "noblest of all creatures," so dazzling that none can gaze on it ;⁵ the silver moon,

¹ *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe*, Argumento de la primera parte (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 21-2).

² *Ibid.*, pt. i, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 29).

³ *Ibid.*, pt. i, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 46).

⁴ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 47).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 66).

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which “ draws the sea as though she were its servant ”—both these attract him beyond description.¹ But words fail him when he gazes upon the stars : “ What shall we say, ” he cries, “ of such great beauty ? ”²

And the loveliness of the heavens, who shall declare it ? How pleasant on a calm midsummer night to gaze on the full moon, which is so bright that all the stars are extinguished by its glory ! How much more do travellers on summer nights take pleasure in this light, than in the sun, although the sun is the greater ! And when the moon is invisible, what is there lovelier, what that tells more eloquently of the Creator’s omnipotence and beauty, than the sky, spangled with so vast and various an array of glorious stars—some great and resplendent, others small, others again in magnitude between them—which can be numbered by none save by their Creator alone ? Only the custom of seeing all this destroys our wonder at such great beauty, and the cause it gives us to praise that Sovereign Painter, Who knew so well how to adorn the spacious vault of heaven.³

In the night-time, serene and clear, the humble heart awakens to devotion, in presence of the bright and beauteous moon, or, in its absence, of all the stars, which, silent but sparkling, proclaim the beauty of their Creator, and, in the diversity of their glory, declare the variety of the glory and the beauty of our glorious resurrection bodies.⁴

Let us halt beneath the grandeur of the starry heavens, wherein is so great an infinity of stars which are of divers degrees of magnitude. And let us now consider : What can that great Power be that with a simple act of His will brought this entire system out of darkness and chaos of nothingness ?⁵

Wonderful is all this, exclaims Fray Luis—and hardly less wonderful is it that when the stars fade, and day dawns again, “ the fields are clothed in a new dress, the trees take on leaf and flower, and the birds, which before were dumb, begin to chirp and sing ; vine and rose-tree put forth shoot and bud, and make ready to reveal the beauty which is enclosed within them.”⁶

¹ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 74).

² *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 75).

³ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 64).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 71).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 38 (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 309–10).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 65).

Not less does Luis de Granada marvel at the wonders of the sea. He thinks of it not merely as a vast expanse which separates men of different nations, but as a "great fair or mart, where many buyers and sellers meet, with merchandise of all things needful to sustain our lives";¹ or again, as the home of so great a multitude of fish, their variety as incredible as their number.² Or he observes the shells upon the shore, so unlike each to the other, and so wonderful in texture, colour and form, which are no less marvellous than the numberless islands studding seas that temper the heat of their shores but never submerge them.³ "O wondrous wisdom of the Creator!" he cries. "How great, O Lord, are Thy works! For all are fashioned with supreme wisdom, and not the earth alone, but likewise the sea, is full of Thy marvels."⁴

And the sea in itself is a thing of wonder, serving, like all else in Nature, to lift up our hearts and remind us of our Creator—of His gentleness with His children on the one hand, of His wrath with those who reject Him on the other.

Another property has the sea, which is among the chiefest works of creation, and on the one hand reveals the gentleness, on the other the indignation and wrath of the Creator. For what is there more peaceful than the sea when it is still and free from the raging of the winds, . . . or when it is gently stirred by a soft breeze, and its waves, one after the other, ripple quietly in towards the shore, with a gentle murmur, each following the other till it breaks upon the strand? This then represents the tenderness and mercy of the Creator towards the faithful. But now is the sea lashed by mighty winds, and its fearful waves rise up towards the clouds, and the higher they rise, the deeper are the chasms they reveal. The wretched sailors toss up and down, the sides of their great vessels furiously battered by the waves; the men are brought into mortal fear, their strength is exhausted and they despair of their lives. All this pictures to us the fury of the Divine wrath, and the greatness of that power which can raise and calm such tempests when He pleases. And this the Royal Prophet declares

¹ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 8 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 85).

² *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 86-7).

³ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 86-8. Cf. p. 47).

⁴ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 88).

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to be among the signs of God's greatness, when he says : " Thou, O Lord, rulest the raging of the sea ; when the waves thereof arise, Thou stillest them. The heavens are Thine, the earth also is Thine ; as for the world and the fulness thereof, Thou hast founded them. The north and the south, Thou hast created them." ¹

In passages like these it cannot be doubted that the real lover of nature is heard. Luis de Granada is writing, for the most part, not from wisdom learned in books, but from his own personal knowledge and experience and love. The same cannot be said of his chapters on animal life. They are numerous and long : so much, indeed, does Fray Luis write of the four-footed beasts, the reptiles, the insects and the birds, that in the result he fills nearly one-third of a whole volume. But the chapters in question are full of long quotations and thinly veiled adaptations of Pliny, Cicero, Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, St. Gregory, St. Basil, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Augustine, so that in reading them one almost forgets Fray Luis de Granada.

Like many wise men before him, the compiler of these chapters has eyes for the small as well as for the great. If the noble bearing of the horse (" created rather for war than for labour " ²) excites his admiration, if the beauty of the peacock's plumage delights him more every time that he beholds it,³ he reserves some of his wonder,—and the most detailed of his descriptions—for creatures as humble as the ant, the bee, and the silkworm.⁴ " So numerous are the things wherein God's great majesty is pleased to make itself known to men, in so many things shines forth His providential wisdom, that not alone in the greatest of the animals is it seen, but also most clearly in the vilest and weakest of them." ⁵

¹ *Op. cit.* (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 86).

² *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 22 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 201).

³ *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 203).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chaps. 18-19 (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 167-72, 179-94). The reader of St. Teresa will look in vain, in the chapter on the silkworm, for any suggestion of her influence. St. Basil, Pliny and the sixteenth-century Latin poet Vida are Fray Luis' authorities, and he abides by them closely.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 18 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 165).

If we turn to the chapters upon flowers and fruit, though still St. Ambrose and St. Gregory are quoted here and there, it is very much more briefly and more rarely. Luis de Granada's descriptions of the fig-tree and the pomegranate (which is, of course, in Spanish, *granada*) are pleasant reading, and apparently, in great part, original. Rare, too, in Spanish literature of the time, is the detail, if not also the eloquence, which he expends upon the flora of his country. A few extracts may perhaps be fitly cited :

Who can describe the loveliness of the purple violet, the white lily, or the resplendent rose, the charm of the meadows, painted with flowers of divers colours—some golden, some scarlet, some spangled with many hues—wherein you know not which delights you most, whether the colour of the flower, or the beauty of its form, or the sweetness of its scent ? The eyes cannot but feast upon this wondrous spectacle, and the senses delight in the sweetness of the perfume which is wafted through the air. So great is this beauty that the Creator applies it to Himself, saying : “ The beauty of the field is in me.” For what other artificer would be sufficient to create things so many, so various and so lovely ? Cast your eyes upon the lily, and look upon the surpassing whiteness of its flower ! Consider how it rises from the ground with its tiny leaves till it is grown stately and tall, and at last forms as it were a cup, within which are its tiny golden grains, so carefully enclosed that none can harm them. If anyone were to pluck this flower, and strip it of its leaves, what human hand could make another to equal it ? For the Creator Himself praised these flowers, when He said that not Solomon in all his glory was as richly arrayed as one of them.¹

What service is done to man by carnations, pinks, lilies, wall-flowers, sprigs of sweet-basil and flowers of innumerable other kinds, of which our gardens, meadows, downs and fields are full, be they white or many-hued, yellow, violet, or of colours most various besides, to say naught of the beauty and skill wherewith they are fashioned, and the order and symmetry of the leaves which surround them, and the fragrant perfume which many of them give ? What service, I say, is done by these, save that they give recreation to man, to the end that he may have that whereon to feast his bodily sight, and much more his spiritual sight, when he

¹ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 10 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 94).

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contemplates herein the beauty of the Creator, and the care which He has, not only to maintain His creatures, but to be to them a true Father, and give delight to His sons ? ¹

And besides all this, how many other things has He made to give pleasure to the remaining senses ! What music of the birds for us to hear ! What fragrant spices for us to smell ! What infinitude of savours for our taste ! And in all these things, how are we certified indeed of the benignity and sweetness of this our Sovereign Lord, Who at the same time as He created inanimate things, had such regard to man, that not only did He make for him all things that were necessary to him for food, but He was careful likewise to create so many objects, and of such variety, that none of the senses of the body should lack fit matter for its delight ! ²

This sensitiveness to Nature, which was to Luis de Granada—as it always is to those who can so use it—of great evidential value, stood him in equally good stead when he sought similitudes to illustrate his ascetic and mystical writings. It stimulates and quickens his imagination, more especially when his theme is the supernatural. With what terrible keenness he visualizes the Day of Judgment, and with what vigour he describes what he sees ! His picture has seldom been surpassed :

. . . The air shall be filled with lightnings and whirlwinds, with comets aflame. The earth shall be full of chasms ; it shall quake with such violence, that not only shall strong buildings and proud towers be overthrown, but even mountains and cliffs shall be uprooted and torn from their place. And above all the elements shall the sea most wildly rage, and its waves beat so furiously, and rise so high, that they shall be like to cover all the earth.³

Or, to take a picture of the opposite sort, the imagination of Fray Luis is never more surely kindled than when he walks in the country he loves so well, and endeavours to represent to himself the glories of the world beyond the skies :

Then if in this world, where all men die, there are things so excellent and so comely, what will there be in the land of those

¹ *Op. cit.* (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 97).

² *Ibid.* (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 98).

³ *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, bk. i, chap. 3 ("El Jueves en la noche") ; *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 169.

who for ever live? Cast thine eyes over all this visible world, and see how many and how beautiful sights it holds. How vast are the heavens, how bright and resplendent the sun, moon and stars, how beautiful the earth, with the trees, the birds, and other created things! How good it is to behold the spacious plains, the lofty mountains, the green valleys, the cool springs, and the fair streams, flowing like a network of veins over all the surface of their body, which is the earth! And above all, to behold the broad seas, so diversely and marvellously peopled! What are lakes and ponds but eyes (so to say) of the earth, or mirrors for the heavens? What are the green meadows, twined about with roses and other such flowers, but another star-spangled sky, on a night serene? . . . Then if in this the lowest element of all (as we said before), if in this world, where all men die, there is so much that gives delight, what will it be in that highest of all spheres, where all is far above the elements and the heavens, and nobler, richer and more beautiful to boot! ¹

Further examples abound. The winds troubling the sea, and the clouds hiding the face of the sky, figure to Luis de Granada the workings of evil passions and their blinding effect on the soul.² The multitude of the stars and the magnitude of the skies are continual reminders of the vast extent of that "city above the stars" which we call heaven.³ The same imagination as transports the friar to these heights is responsible for the impressive description (in the manner of his time) of the awful pains of hell which furnish him with a subject for evening meditation.⁴ But more characteristic are the serener passages, in which the feeling for Nature inspires and informs the religious spirit. Perhaps such idealistic passages as this, which describes the appearance of the Risen Christ to His Mother, are too little associated with the name of Luis de Granada :

In the midst of these cries and tears the poor little dwelling is

¹ *Guía de Pecadores*, bk. i, chap. ix. For the same idea less fully developed, see *Libro de la Oración y Meditación* (bk. i, chap. 3, "El Sábado en la noche"), *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 196-7.

² *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, bk. ii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 291) : "As these eyes of flesh can see neither the stars nor the beauty of the heavens when clouds cover the sky, even so the eyes of the soul cannot contemplate the eternal light when they are darkened by the clouds and passions of this life."

³ *Ibid.*, bk. i, chap. 3 ("El Sábado en la noche"); *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.* ("El Viernes en la noche"); *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 183 ff.

lit up with the light of heaven, and there appears before the eyes of the Mother the glorious Form of her Risen Son. The day-star appears not more wondrously in the morning ; the sun shines not so brightly at mid-day as shone that Countenance, full of all graces, that spotless Mirror of the Divine glory, before the Mother's eyes. She beholds the glorious Body of her Risen Son : its former blemishes are removed, its former beauty is restored, the Divine eyes are once more filled with grace—yea, and become more beauteous still.¹

In general terms, it may be said that, both in his evidential and in his ascetic and mystical writings, the love of Fray Luis for Nature carries him beyond itself to the contemplation of and the desire for Him Who created it. "Our thought must break down the walls of Heaven," he writes, "and pass beyond—contented with knowing not only that which it can see, but also that which is invisible."²

VII

It will be noticed in the following pages that some of the greatest Spanish mystics lay quite secondary emphasis upon ascetic habits and bodily mortification. They assume that their readers, being practising Catholics, will follow the commands of the Church, and the instructions of their confessors. And this suffices them. They speak at times with measured approbation of more rigid methods and degrees of self-discipline than are commonly practised, recommending these only to such as find them beneficial and feel called to adopt them. They themselves, no doubt, are ascetics, keeping their bodies under with an iron hand. But they do not make severe mortifications—long fasts, rigorous vigils, frequent chastisements—an essential or even a normal part of the mystic's preparation. Often they go to the other extreme, and warn their readers insistently of the dangers attending such practices, unless these are regulated with the greatest care.

¹ *Libro*, etc. ("El Domingo por la mañana"); *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 95-6.

² *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe*, pt. i, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 26).

Luis de Granada, while he is thoroughly alive both to the limitations and to the perils of asceticism, attaches perhaps more importance to them than does any one of the later writers studied in this volume. By temperament and conviction alike he was a typical ascetic, and Muñoz' story¹ of the dissolute young men whose conversion was brought about by their hearing Fray Luis' groans during his unusually severe self-flagellations illuminates the character of the age of which it was told as well as that of its hero. So we find Fray Luis again and again speaking of bodily discipline in such close connexion with prayer that, although he does not in set phrase assert it to be indispensable to devotion, it is certain that he considered it to be very nearly so.

At the root of all that he says lies the ascetic's vivid conception of his aim and reward. "Lo que mucho es, mucho nos ha de costar"² is his text, and again—in the words of "a religious person"—"Nada es lo que nada cuesta"³:

Let our diligence, then, be commensurate with the grace that we have received, and our labours with their final reward. For the Lord will not have it that His gifts be made of small account; and therefore, though He has given them at times to those that sought them not, and awakened those that slept (as He did to St. Paul and others) He more commonly gives them only to such as seek Him in truth, whom He visits not after this manner except they seek Him with affliction of body and soul. And since the grace desired is not for the soul alone, but for the whole man, it is but right that the whole man should win it—the soul with desires, and the body with afflictions, to the end that he that would eat of the fruit may partake of the labour likewise.

He then that desires the love of God, understanding this, begins with a light heart to give himself to all kinds of labour, using hair-shirts, fastings, disciplines, vigils, and other such severities. And in such wise does he joy in these that the trials are to him no trial, and his weariness wearies him not; for he looks not at the labours,

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, iv. The incident is related of Fray Luis' residence at the College of St. Gregory, Valladolid.

² "Great gains demand of us great sacrifices" (*Memorial*, etc., bk. vii, chap. 4; *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 558).

³ "That which costs nothing is worth nothing" (*ibid.*).

but at their fruit, not at the weariness, but at its motive—namely, the love of God.¹

Elsewhere he says that one of the principal causes of error in the higher life is “to make much account of prayer and none of mortification,” the human heart “embracing that which delights it, and rejecting that which torments it.”² Hence a “sign,” if not an essential condition, of the mystic’s progress, is “a quick and fervent desire to afflict and maltreat the body with fastings, hair-shirts, vigils, disciplines, and other bodily severities for the love of God.”³

For this is a proof that Divine love is at length prevailing against love of self, when the desire is born to afflict and maltreat the body, a desire rarely found in such as greatly love themselves, for they cannot be brought to afflict that which they greatly love. We see, on the other hand, that the saints for the most part went to extremes of rigour and severity in the subjection of their bodies—or, at the least, all those that were of fitting age and strength—for so far were they from self-love that they even grew to regard themselves with a righteous hatred (*odio santo*).⁴

Here, then, bodily austerity is enumerated among the normal signs of progress in the mystical life ; and Luis de Granada goes farther yet, till ascetic practices become in his teaching all but an essential :

Devotion is aided likewise by corporal severity, such as the discipline, hard beds, the hair-shirt of the holy Judith, and fasting, which was so highly esteemed by all the saints, since it not only checks the vices, but raises the spirit towards God. All these things are pillars of devotion, whereon it rests, and without the which man may quickly fall. *So that we rarely find devotion apart from these exercises, or the exercises without devotion.*⁵

Show me a heart that is devout and recollected, and I will show you a body that is recollected—and fasting, and silence, and vigils, and discipline, and measure and moderation in all things.⁶

¹ *Memorial*, etc., bk. vii, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 558–9).

² *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, bk. ii, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 409).

³ *Memorial*, etc., bk. vii, chap. 6 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 577).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, bk. ii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 317). Italics mine.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, bk. iii, Sermon 1 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 458).

The more favours the mystic receives from God, the more resolutely he must prepare and gird himself for further discipline, following the Christ Who spoke of His Passion even during the moments of His Transfiguration in glory. And, lest any should ask what the "business" (*negocio*) of the Passion "has to do with the "mystery of the Transfiguration," Fray Luis himself puts the question and answers it.

If music is out of place amid weeping, will not weeping be equally misplaced amid music and joy? So it is of a truth in the festivals of the world, but not so in the festivals of God, where consolations are given that trials may be borne, where joy is a preparation for grief, rest for torment, the Transfiguration for the Cross.¹

For outward, physical manifestations of grace, supernatural favours, signs, revelations, ecstasies, raptures, overmuch attention to which has ever marked true mysticism's ebb, Luis de Granada has little to say. The story of his life will partly explain why. If we must not desire spiritual joys and consolations of any kind in order to dwell in them, still less must we look for these physical favours which are "a most evident beginning for all the illusions of the enemy." Fray Luis' most emphatic counsel is frankly not to wish for them at all.

Let no man fear to be disobedient to God, *if he shut the door entirely to everything of this kind*, for when God wills to reveal any matter, He can make plain His intent, in such manner that there is left no room for doubt, as when He spoke with the child Samuel.²

This is clear counsel, and Fray Luis never swerves from it. Thankfully acknowledging the undoubtedly genuine manifestations which have been shown in the past to the saints, and to many "who, being in the flesh, lived as if they had no flesh—a life more than human,"³ he nevertheless insists that like experiences are but for such as these. That a St. Francis and a St. Catherine of

¹ *Op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 416).

² *Op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 417). Italics mine.

³ *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe*, pt. i, chap. 36 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 283).

Siena should be so enraptured as to lose all their physical powers is "not so great a thing"; but for ordinary mortals, compassed about with their infirmities, the supernatural act of Christ in the Holy Communion is wonder enough.¹ Hence for such as these—and for such it is that Fray Luis writes—the best thing is to forget and think nothing about supernormal manifestations, but to give themselves to mortification and prayer. The advice may not be startling, but it is safe.

VIII

In writing of an author who takes as high a place in the history of literature as does Luis de Granada, it is impossible to pass over his literary merits. His is one of the greatest names in Spain's Golden Age. He was almost the first great mystic to make the Castilian language his medium,² and not only did he help to introduce mystical theology to the vernacular, but he gave to the vernacular an exposition of it which ranks with the finest prose of his time.³ He lived in an age when Castilian was feeling its way into literature. Its prose was, with few exceptions, familiar in tone, bald and inartistic in construction, in no way lacking vigour, but totally devoid of grace. Luis de Granada, by temperament as well as by profession, was an orator and a teacher, combining in his prose the popular appeal of the successful

¹ *Op. cit.*, pt. i, chap. 38 (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 307), *cf.* chap. 37, p. 298.

² Juan de Avila (1500–1569 : see *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 18–19, 85–6) may fairly be said to have preceded him, and many others were writing of mysticism in the vernacular during his unusually long active life. But there are few books in Castilian on the mystical life anterior in date to his earliest works.

On this subject in general, and on the part of Luis de Granada in the popularization of the vernacular, see A. F. G. Bell, *Luis de Leon* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 32–7; and, on the general question only, a brief treatise by Diego de Jesús (Salablanca), entitled "De cuán convenientemente salen estos libros [*sc.* de San Juan de la Cruz] en la lengua vulgar," reproduced by P. Gerardo in *Obras del Místico Doctor San Juan de la Cruz* (Toledo, 1912–14), vol. iii, pp. 495–502.

³ This was realized early. Muñoz calls him "our Spanish Tully" and dwells on the freedom of his prose from foreign affectations, which were then so common (*op. cit.*, I, xx).

catechist with the art which gives great oratory its effect.¹ Modelling himself upon Cicero, he enriched the simple vernacular phrase, adding to it force as well as substance, yet seldom losing himself in his flow of words or becoming heavy and dull.² Thus he raised the language of the Spanish mystics into the realms of soul-moving appeal. In his long life he mastered all the many kinds of style which the preacher and teacher can use. He can be grandiloquent and florid, even to excess ; purely declamatory, as in some of his sermons ; quiet and earnest in appeal, as in his apologetic and meditative works ; ecstatic as any Spaniard, in eulogy ; richer and more eloquent than most, in his descriptions of the created world around him ; and effective, as nowhere else, when with rising ardour and gathering force he lifts his readers from that world to a higher plane.

This is hardly realized in Spain, where Fray Luis is too little read. It was a great day when Azorín discovered him, for few modern writers have more influence in their own country than has that ingenuous essayist. It is as recently as 1920 that Azorín confessed to an "instinctive distaste" which for some fifteen or twenty years had kept him from reading Fray Luis. He had thought him—as many no doubt do still—"high-sounding, wordy, rhetorical."³ At last he managed to

¹ "No fué otro en el púlpito que en sus libros," says Muñoz, and adds, in a quaint but expressive phrase, "Fué como abeja avisada y diligente, que saca de la golosina de diversas flores el panal dulce" (*ibid.*, I, xx). And elsewhere (I, v) he describes his illustrations and quotations—two important weapons in the armoury of the preacher and teacher—as: "no los vulgares y trillados, ni que se topan luego al primer paso, sino excelentísimos: no los que con un picantillo regalan los oídos ; mas los que con agudeza y gravedad de sentencias tienen fuerza y peso."

² J. J. de Mora, an early nineteenth-century critic whose judgments invariably command respect, described Luis de Granada, in his *Life* (B.A.E. edition, see Bibliography below), as "el verdadero fundador de la culta y limada prosa castellana." This is, perhaps, excess of praise, but a considerable share of the credit for Spain's later achievements in prose must be given to him.

³ J. G. Underhill is only following the crowd when he writes (*Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, pp. 206-7): "Some of the mystics wrote with simplicity, but Granada was essentially oratorical and eloquent. He was fond of superlatives. He attempted to stimulate emotion by a profusion and concord of words rather than by the expression of significant and discriminated ideas. Grandiosity, verbosity, elaboration of the obvious, and utter subordination of thought to phrase, are continually discernible in his pages."

overcome his dislike, and found that the Dominican friar's magic style was something which he had never imagined.

To say that Azorín's retraction¹ embodies a sympathetic, and in places inspired, study of Luis de Granada's style is not, of course, to agree with it throughout. One can quarrel readily with the description of his writing as "simple, natural—a conversational style,"² as opposed to the "literary" style of his contemporaries. Not everyone would subscribe to Azorín's contrast of him with Luis de León³: not everyone would find Luis de Granada without exception "facile, spontaneous, graceful and elegant."⁴ The fact is that generalization about a writer of such varied gifts is impossible. The chief service which Azorín has done by his book is to point to places (whole works and isolated passages alike) which do merit that last description; to emphasize the suavity and melody of his style; to indicate purple passages of unsuspected beauty which must completely reverse the conventional judgment of text-book and tradition.

For Luis de Granada, like his country, has been the victim of a legend—and of a legend which misrepresents him in two particulars. On the one hand, he is not the bombastic, turgid pseudo-Cicero of popular conception; he has the mellowness, richness and quiet dignity of repose. On the other hand, he is not the rigid, violent ascetic, intent on moulding all men on a pattern of unyielding austerity: he is filled with the true mystical spirit of the great doctors whose names are ever on his lips, and, for all that he seems to neglect the higher slopes of Carmel, we feel that while he is busy guiding others on the lower slopes, he finds rest and refreshment in constantly looking and pointing upwards to the summit.

¹ *Los dos Luises* (Madrid, 1921), from the preface to which the above quotations are made.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ *E.g.* p. 12 and elsewhere.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

CHAPTER III
FRANCISCO DE OSUNA

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I

Of the books which are known to have influenced St. Teresa, none has been more neglected than the *Third Spiritual Alphabet* of Fray Francisco de Osuna. Not very many years have passed since for the first time it was made accessible to the general reader of Spanish¹: into English it has never, even partially, been translated, nor does its author figure, except as a name, in any English books on mysticism.² Rousselot, in French, neglects him entirely; even in Spanish very little has been written of him. The present chapter is of necessity brief, dealing only in outline with Osuna's thought. And yet there is no fuller study known to us of the writings of an author to whom many have done lip-service, but whom few have commented and none has gone so far as to translate.³

This neglect is strange, for few months pass without some addition being made to the vast mass of literature upon St. Teresa, and Fray Francisco is spoken of by that saint with the greatest respect. She was about twenty years of age⁴ when she began to follow the paths of recollection, taking the *Third Spiritual Alphabet*, which a pious relative had given her, as almost her principal guide.

¹ In vol. xvi of the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1911).

² A short biography—very little is known of his life—with some bibliographical notes, will be found in my *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*. Mrs. Cunninghame Graham (*Santa Teresa*, 1907, pp. 39 ff., 99) seems also to have read Osuna's *Third Spiritual Alphabet*.

³ The lengthy study of P. Michel Ange in the *Revista de Archivos* (see Bibliography, No. 390) may not fairly be cited in disproof of this, as by far the greatest part even of the chapters devoted to Osuna is concerned, not with his thought and teaching, but with obscure details of his biography.

⁴ She herself says (*Libro de su vida*, chap. iv) that she was not then twenty ("con no haber en este tiempo veinte años . . ."), but it would appear that she was in reality somewhat older than this.

It will not be thought amiss to quote her account of this in full :

That uncle of mine, of whom I have said that he lived in our road, gave me a book called the *Third Alphabet*, which treats of the Prayer of Recollection. I had read good books during this first year (for I would read no others, understanding the harm that they had done me) but I did not know how to proceed in prayer, nor how to recollect myself. I was therefore greatly pleased with this book, and determined to follow the way of prayer with all my might. And as the Lord had given me the gift of tears, and I took pleasure in reading, I began to spend short periods of time in solitude, to go often to confession, and to enter upon that way of prayer, taking this book for my guide. For I found no master—that is, no confessor—who could understand me, although I sought for one twenty years after this time. . . .

God began to show such favours to me, even at the beginning, that at the end of this time that I was here, which was almost nine months, in solitude, the Lord began to comfort me so much in this way, that He granted me the favour of the Prayer of Quiet. I was not so free from sin as the book admonished me to be, but I passed that by, for such watchfulness seemed to me almost impossible. . . . At times I even attained to the Prayer of Union, though I understood not what either Quiet or Union was, nor how greatly they were to be esteemed. . . .¹

To this day a relic of Osuna's influence upon St. Teresa is preserved by the nuns at Avila, in the shape of her own copy of the *Alphabet*. Its "yellow pages," writes Mrs. Cunninghame Graham,² "bear the traces of constant study. Whole passages are heavily scored and underlined, whilst on the margins, a cross, a heart, a hand pointing (her favourite marks) indicate the . . . thoughts . . . which seemed to her the most worthy of notice in the Gothic text." "Indisputably," says St. Teresa's latest editor, "the *Third Alphabet* is the book which had the greatest influence upon her mysticism."³

¹ *Libro de su vida*, chap. iv.

² *Santa Teresa*, ed. cit., p. 100.

³ P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D., *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, Burgos, 1915, vol. i, p. xxxv.

Yet comparatively little can be told of the life of one whose name so richly deserves immortality. The researches of a present-day Franciscan¹ have brought to light a few facts hitherto unknown, but have raised as many or more new questions which as yet no one has answered. Osuna is a town of venerable history, long held by the Moors, some sixty miles from Seville, and here Francisco was born in or about the year 1497. As a boy we know that he went to Africa with his father, and witnessed the taking of Tripoli by the Spanish army on the feast of St. James, Patron of Spain, 1510. He probably entered the Franciscan order when very young and studied at the University of Salamanca. Before his ordination to the priesthood he made a pilgrimage to Santiago, his novitiate having been served in the province of Castile.

From about 1527 to 1531 he was either frequently or continuously in Seville. Then he began to travel. The Whitsuntide of 1532 saw him at a general chapter of his order held in Toulouse; in November 1533 he was at Paris; in 1535-6 we find him at a Franciscan convent in Antwerp; shortly after this he returned to Spain, in all probability by sea. Then once more his life is hidden from us. Perhaps ill-health, which had long pursued him,² precluded him from writing and other work. He died before April 1542, perhaps in the preceding year.³

One event which has not yet been mentioned gives us, for all the uncertainties which it involves, a very striking testimony to the position which Osuna held in his order. In 1535, according to the chronicler Torres,—P. Michel Ange shows that the real date was some

¹ P. Michel Ange in *Revista de Archivos* (see Bibliography, No. 390). Each of the details given in the outline below is discussed by him: definite references, therefore, are only quoted when some point of particular importance or interest is involved.

² We know, for example, that the Low Countries tried his health, that he was unable to stay there, and that, when pressed to go to Rome on a mission, he replied jestingly that his perpetual *romadizo* (catarrh) incapacitated him.

³ See footnote to p. 37 of P. Michel Ange's article in *Revista de Archivos* for July-August 1913.

years previous and puts it at approximately 1530¹—he was elected Franciscan Commissary General to the Indies, with the duty of governing the American provinces of his order. This office he never took up—whether because of ill-health, or because he felt his vocation lay rather in writing,² is not known. Perhaps it was for both these reasons that he declined a charge which, if it had benefited his fellows abroad, would have stopped the steady flow of his writing, and prevented the publication of works which in his day were famous, though they have now, with few exceptions, to be redeemed from the oblivion into which they have undeservedly fallen.

A glance at the bibliography which follows this book, and, still more effectively, a study of P. Michel Ange's researches, will give some idea of the esteem in which Osuna's works were held by his age. Twenty editions of his various books are known to have been published during his lifetime, while between his death and the year 1626 thirty-six editions appeared in Spanish or Latin and five translations in Italian or German. The *Alphabets* are constantly mentioned by contemporary authors as being in the very first class, like the writings of Luis de Granada and even of St. Teresa. Franciscan

¹ In the Seville edition (June 7, 1531) of the *Norte de los Estados*, Osuna is described as "Comisario general de la Orden de San Francisco en las provincias de las Indias del mar oceano." No such title is given him in any of the works which he published in 1530. This seems fairly conclusive; the principal uncertainty is due to the fact that successive editions of the *Norte de los Estados* all copy the title from the title-page of that of 1531. Therefore, if, as is thought by some to be probable, there was an earlier edition of this work, now lost, from which the 1531 edition copies in its turn, Osuna must have been elected earlier than 1531—P. Michel Ange thinks between 1528 and 1530. Otherwise the date would be between the end of 1530 and June 7, 1531.

If Osuna ever held the office in question, he had resigned it by 1532, for the official documents of the Whitsuntide general chapter referred to in the text above make no mention of it. He may, of course, have been elected a second time, in 1535, as Torres's statement (see next note) certainly suggests.

² So Torres, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiv (see Bibliography, No. 393), quoted by P. Michel Ange: "In the year 1535 the learned Fray Francisco de Osuna was elected Commissary General of the Empire [of the Indies], but excused himself, saying that it behoved him to continue writing and publishing his works, which are works full of profound erudition and sublimeness of spirit." Nicolás Antonio (see Bibliography, No. 386) says that Osuna held other important offices in his Order. P. Michel Ange (*Revista de Archivos*, July-August 1913, pp. 40-1) thinks this to be incorrect.

preachers contributed greatly to the popularization of what, on the whole, were by their nature eminently popular works, and those who read them did the rest.

In all Francisco de Osuna wrote six treatises known as "Alphabets,"¹ between the years 1525 and 1554.² Of these the third has the best claim to the title of mystical. The *First Spiritual Alphabet* "treats of the circumstances of the sacred Passion of the Son of God," and aims at doing so in a more spiritual manner than works commonly published at that time. The *Second* is planned as a manual for persons of active life with little time for devotional exercises: it has chapters on various themes—love, mutability of temporal things, guard of the senses, preparation for Mass, etc. The *Fourth* has as its alternative title the "Law of Love,"³ wherein is treated very fully of the mysteries and questions and exercises of love, and the theology which pertains no less to the understanding than to the will." It is a synthesis of the first three *Alphabets*, described by its author as "very useful for preachers who desire to see in their mother tongue (*en buen romance*) things which of themselves are dark." This comes nearest to the *Third Alphabet* in spirit.⁴

The *Fifth Alphabet* is entirely ascetic, dealing with poverty and the right use of riches. It is called

¹ From the fact that the titles of the several chapters begin with the several letters of the alphabet, in order. In the prologue to the *First Spiritual Alphabet* Osuna says that he has composed the work in this fashion in imitation of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*. P. Michel Ange (*Revista de Archivos*, 1914, pp. 1-62) points out that such *Alphabets* were (as is generally known) quite common, and cites the *Alfabeto cristiano* (1546) of the Protestant Valdés, the *Alfabeto Spiritual* (1614) of P. Gracián, and others, including the works of Sanz, all published before 1610, which comprise an Alphabet on the Most Holy Sacrament, six Alphabets on the five wounds of Christ, and eight more of other subjects.

² The British Museum contains early editions of all the *Alphabets*, which are enumerated in the Bibliography below (see Nos. 325 ff.).

³ Osuna himself probably thought of only three of his *Alphabets* as such. The successful title was exploited in the interests of the *Law of Love* by its publishers, and the same happened with the two following treatises bearing the generic title, which were posthumous.

⁴ Gaston Etchegoyen (*L'Amour Divin*, Bordeaux, Paris, 1923, p. 41) writes in eulogistic terms of it: "Ce recueil, qui est peut-être le chef d'œuvre du Franciscain, . . . expose, sous de riches allégories et de fraîches images, l'ascèse et la mystique de l'amour."

"Consolation of the poor and counsel of the rich," and is "no less useful for friars than for the secular clergy, and likewise for preachers. Its intent is to draw men away from the love of false riches and make them to be poor in spirit." The first part, which contains one hundred and twelve chapters, is devoted to the praise of poverty; the second part, of seventy-four chapters, treats of almsgiving, humility, the use of wealth and similar themes. The *Sixth Alphabet* resembles the *First*, being a consideration "of the wounds of Jesus Christ for the exercise of all devout persons."

The *Third Spiritual Alphabet*, which is the subject of this chapter, being almost wholly concerned with the mystical life, was first published by Osuna at Toledo in 1527. "The cause which chiefly moved me to write this book," he says, "was to bring to the general notice of all this exercise of recollection (*recogimiento*)¹ . . . to show to all how they may reach the universal Lord, Who wills to be served of all and with all to have friendship."² That he would bring the exercise to the notice of one who was destined to be pre-eminent among Spanish mystics could hardly have occurred to him, but it is of interest to see from his own statement that he had no intention of writing merely for a few chosen souls.

It is significant that the words just quoted, explaining the aim of his work, should come from the eighth book of the *Alphabet* and not the first. There is no plan, and little cohesion, in any of Osuna's writings. Passing from one subject to another as his thoughts and feelings prompt, he makes no attempt to rectify the arbitrariness of treatment which to some extent his choice of the medium of the "Alphabet" imposes upon him. He comes to his main theme in Book VI, though the five preceding books are by no means strictly preparatory to it. He leaves that theme again and again to deal with other

¹ For Osuna's use of the word 'recollection' (*recogimiento*), see below, pp. 93 ff.

² Bk. viii, chap. 1. *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. xvi (from which all references to the *Third Spiritual Alphabet* will be taken, the abbreviation N.B.A.E. being used), p. 400. The N.B.A.E. edition, it should be added, follows, not the first edition, but that of Burgos, 1544.

matters, and returns to it at will for just such time as his inspiration dictates. It is impossible to find in his work for long together any kind of logical progression : he himself is conscious of this and thinks it apparently no drawback. "Those who look deeply into things," he says somewhat naïvely at the beginning of Book XIX (on humility), "may say that this chapter should have been placed in the first book of all . . . for upon humility every exercise must be founded."¹ But he makes no excuse, nor gives any reason, for having deferred so fundamental a theme till near the end of his treatise, nor even refers to the subject any more.²

When we add that—as will presently be seen—Fray Francisco uses certain fundamental technical terms of mysticism in more than one sense, without indicating which of these senses he intends, it is easy to see that his meaning will present great difficulty, and that, in order to give any general account of his thought, it will be necessary to examine the whole book very closely. To describe Osuna's presentation of the Mystic Way, as we shall now do, is to dig up every part of the ground which he covers, in order to find, if we can, the way-marked guide-stones which he seems at times almost deliberately to have buried. We shall hope to bring them to light, and if in so doing we unearth some gems of thought, as excavators in mystical territory often may, we shall not hesitate to give these to all who care to have them, whether with or without their appropriate settings.

¹ N.B.A.E., p. 534. Note also how inconsequentially (bk. xvi. chap. 8, N.B.A.E., p. 505) he embarks upon an exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

² P. Michel Ange (unfortunately, as I think) tries to present Osuna as an orderly writer (*Revista de Archivos*, 1913, Sept.-Oct., p. 194, n. 1), saying: "Nous nous permettons de douter que si, véritablement, ce livre eût été . . . peu ordonné . . . la sainte qui a prouvé ses qualités de femme d'ordre, eût tant aimé ce livre." On p. 195, n. 1, he gives a scheme of the book ("ce magnifique traité"), but I find this scheme artificial, and no more convincing than his criticism of Mir, Osuna's editor (see N.B.A.E., pp. xxvii-xxix), who sums up the defects of the *Third Alphabet* very faithfully.

II

The Mystic Way, says Osuna, is not for all. Even those who zealously keep the commandments of God¹ and strive to serve Him are not uniformly called to walk in it, while some, on the other hand, have found themselves on that road "only by desiring from the depth of their hearts so to walk."² The uninstructed may most grievously err, believing themselves to be upon the mystic path, when in fact they are far from it, and have left safe ways to follow their own imaginings.²

At the same time the reader is not to suppose himself incapable, through his own unworthiness, of walking in the Mystic Way.³ At the beginning of the *Third Spiritual Alphabet*⁴ the author lays it down that "friendship and communion with God are possible in this our life and exile upon earth, and that not in small measure, but as straitly and securely as ever was bond between brothers or between mother and son." He then proceeds :

Since God is no respecter of persons, this communion may no less be thine—oh man, whoever thou art—than that of others. For thou art made no less in the image of God than are others, nor do I suppose thou hast less desire of happiness than others. Yet, according as thou art moved thereto, not by God, but by thy desire for freedom, I think thou wilt say that thy age, or office, or humour, or infirmity, or temper, excuses and withdraws thee from this. I know not how I shall reply to thee, save as the wise man says : He that would separate himself from his

¹ Bk. viii, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 400). See also the writer's warning to those who might be impelled to leave for the Mystic Way the "Way of the Sacred Passion" (bk. xvii, chap. 6, N.B.A.E., p. 522).

² Prólogo (N.B.A.E., p. 320).

³ In point of fact, we have in the original something approaching a contradiction, between the clearly defined "Aquesta vía . . . bien conocemos que no es para todos" and the equally definite: "Esta comunicación no es a ti, oh hombre quien quiera que seas, menos posible que los otros." But the author's thought is clear, even if the "plain man" might not be reassured by comparing the two passages.

⁴ The extract is from a long passage which I have translated in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 60-2, and do not therefore quote at great length here.

friend, seeketh excuses, and he will ever be to be blamed.¹ If thy excuses satisfy thee, I know not ; I can but say that me they offend ; and I say with St. Augustine that in the sum I believe thee not, for there is no cause that can take from thee a faculty so wholly thine own. If thou saidst that thou couldst not fast, nor take the discipline, nor wear rough clothing, nor labour, nor journey, we could believe thee ; but if thou sayest that thou canst not love, we believe thee not. And if St. Augustine says this of the love of one's enemies, how much more truly may it be said of the love of God, for the which there are so many more motives than for the other.²

Further, the wisdom of this world is in no way necessary to the would-be mystic, whose lore is not that of the "speculative" theologian, but of the revelation of God. "Think not that a man, to give himself to the devotion of recollection, needeth logic and metaphysics, though one of much authority should affirm it. . . . For mystical theology, though supreme and most perfect matter, may yet be had by any of the faithful soever, yea by one that is but a woman or simple."³

Among the prime necessities for the recollected life is *effort*. It is only by exerting "all his strength" that the aspirant can "reach God."⁴ And we are never left in doubt as to how this effort must be spent. The aspiring soul's first struggle is to free itself of idle thoughts, of anxious cares, of all considerations whatsoever that are prompted by the world.

Thou must know that for the spiritual walk it is needful that thou cast aside every idle care and mortify thy passions, the which take wings and new life from the business and cares in which thou dost intermeddle. For this cause I admonish thee the more earnestly that thou cast from thy heart the business and affairs which make thee to disperse (*derramar*) thyself among them.⁵

¹ Prov. xviii, 1 (Vulg.): Occasiones quærit qui vult recedere ab amico ; omni tempore erit exprobrabilis.

² Bk. i, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 324).

³ Bk. xii, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 460). The classification of women with the 'simple' (*idiotas*) is a sign of the times in which Osuna wrote. But the life and works of St. Teresa form as noble a revenge for such a phrase as one woman ever took for her whole sex.

⁴ Bk. i, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 326).

⁵ Bk. i, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 329).

Thou must leave the vanities of the world and its customs, not alone those that are vain and of small virtue, but those that are idle also, that thou mayest gather things of greater profit and advantage.¹

But it would not be correct to say that, even from the loftiest point of view, Fray Francisco despises all things created. Even "carnal love is not evil, nor are we to take it in the evil sense which is commonly given to it,"² while "all created things are a ladder whereby the feet of the wise ascend to God."³ Most of all is this so of the sacred Humanity of our Lord.⁴ It is true that for the weakness of our nature we have perforce at times to cast out from our minds all created things. But this is the fault of ourselves, and not theirs.⁵

It is our imperfection to be forced to withdraw from holy thoughts of created things, that we may rise the more completely to God alone. It is to be observed, however, that this imperfection or defect is, in men that are most near to God, a better thing than our common perfection, for it is only imperfection by comparison with another state more perfect. . . .⁶

Christ our Redeemer had never this imperfection, nor was it found in His Mother, and it may be that certain saints had it not at brief seasons. . . . No created thing, then, in itself, can hinder contemplation, how high soever this be. If we would say that visible creatures hinder it, because of our littleness, this is true; but the defect is to be recognised as of ourselves, and not as of the created things.⁷

For those that would attain to lofty and pure contemplation it is fitting that they put aside the creatures—yea, and the sacred Humanity—that they may rise the higher and receive more abundant communication of things purely spiritual. . . . To the apostles it was a thing most fitting to leave for a time the contem-

¹ Bk. i, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 329).

² *Prólogo* (N.B.A.E., p. 323).

³ "Todas las cosas criadas son escalera para que los pies de los sabios suban a Dios," *Prólogo* (N.B.A.E., p. 322).

⁴ *Ibid.* (N.B.A.E., pp. 320, 322).

⁵ Cf. Bk. xxii, chap. 5, *passim*, N.B.A.E., pp. 580-1, the curious title of which ("That thou must blend God with all things") gives an idea of Osuna's attitude to this question.

⁶ *Prólogo* (N.B.A.E., pp. 320-1).

⁷ *Ibid.* (N.B.A.E., p. 321).

plation of the Lord's Humanity, that they might the more freely and entirely be occupied in the contemplation of His Divinity : even so is it fitting for all who would rise to a higher state of perfection. For men pass not commonly from the imperfect state to the state of complete perfection unless they first pass through the intervening state, which is one of perfection. It is well, therefore, to leave that which is good to the end that we may the better and more perfectly possess it, for having left our imperfection with it ; even as one may leave riches, which of themselves are in no wise evil, by leaving the avarice and anxiety which is the mingling of them with our imperfection.¹

On the positive side, Fray Francisco describes the chief elements in the character of the recollected soul. The first is meekness : blind and deaf and dumb the soul must be to the things of the world (says the title of one chapter) " and ever meek." ²

The cause for which I have spoken more in this chapter of meekness than of other virtues is that meekness is that which naturally aids man most in the spiritual business whereof this our Third Alphabet treats. If thou hast it not, thou shouldst seek it first of all.³

A picture of the meek soul is given, more comprehensive than any other known to the present writer in the literature of Spanish mysticism.⁴ The meek live in " quietness of mind," unperturbed by aught that befalls them. They are sober and temperate, never impetuous or angry, thinking no evil, speaking no guile, and suspecting no harm. They are " healthy and uncorrupted," not only in mind but in body, " for the meek by nature are by nature healthy." They are easily reprovéd and corrected, and with difficulty saddened or provoked. Their gentleness and patience makes them to be loved by all, and, lest any should suppose them effeminate, the author hastens to add " they seem more truly men than those that have not meekness." But the reason why meekness is an

¹ Cf. *Prólogo* (N.B.A.E., p. 322).

² Bk. iii, chap. i, title, " Ciego y sordo y mudo debes ser, y manso siempre " (N.B.A.E., p. 348).

³ Bk. iii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 354).

⁴ *Ibid.* (N.B.A.E., pp. 353-5).

essential of the contemplative soul is other than this. It is that

the souls of the meek are wholly subjected to God, and their bodies belong to their souls, while their souls yield them up to God. The body obeys the soul that obeys God, and it is contrary to that which to Him is contrary. To the meek soul the body is meek, and to the soul that angrily breaks the yoke of the Lord, the body also is rebellious.¹

The nineteenth book of the *Alphabet* treats of humility, which is the root of meekness, and as inseparable from it as root from plant. Necessary for the Christian in every part of his life, it is above all necessary to the mystic :

Every exercise should be founded upon it ; it must be the root of every tree that is to bear fruit. . . . It is the first gateway into religion, like the entry of Christ into the world. . . . And as this virtue is necessary for all things, it is the more so for the highest exercise of all. The person most singular in saintliness has the greatest need of it.²

The friar who writes this, it may be noted, describes himself (in the Prologue to the *First Spiritual Alphabet*) thus : “ Yo que soy en nombre menor y en obras el menor de los menores.”³ The play upon words impresses on one its author’s character and teaching.

Then the aspirant needs the happy spirit. “ I have noticed in this path of recollection that men who are naturally sad make little progress.” We have much to be thankful for : then we must be thankful, and direct the gladness of our hearts toward God.⁴ The mystic needs the three theological virtues, above all love,⁵ without which it is impossible for him to rise above the world or take the first step towards his goal. Even the preliminary training of the soul is accomplished more effectively by love than by force and severity.⁶ To all these qualities

¹ Bk. iii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 353).

² Bk. xix, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 534).

³ “ I who am in name ‘ lesser ’ (*menor*, i.e. a Friar Minor), and in my works am the least (*menor*) of all the lesser (*or* Minors).”

⁴ Bk. xiv, chap. 6 (N.B.A.E., p. 478).

⁵ See pp. 94, 121-3, below. The book which deals with love comes characteristically late in the work, like that on humility.

⁶ Bk. xiv, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 472).

must, of course, be added purity of mind and intent, which is presupposed of a soul which can empty itself of earthly things in the way that Fray Francisco counsels.

This practical counsellor is ever-ready with advice for beginners. He understands them well, those who "begin to journey toward God, experience devotion and are greatly at ease, but after a few days become cold and dry."¹ He gives them salutary counsel: they must "put aside all superfluous care"² and tread the purgative way in patience³; they must seek a suitable place for their devotions⁴; if they are to live among others, it must be with those who will help them and not hinder.⁵ Most advisable of all for the aspirant, whether beginner, progressive or proficient, is complete solitude: some can do without it, but all are the better for it.⁶ Above all (and here Osuna is as emphatic as can be) the reader must begin at once, or, if already on the road, never leave it:

Go then, brother, . . . and say not, "on such or such a day I will begin," but begin straightway, for all things thou mayest gain, save time that is past.⁷

The problem of "how to begin" is solved by beginning, that of "how to continue" by continuing. "The condition most necessary to every spiritual exercise is to continue therein."⁸

¹ Bk. i, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 328).

² *Ibid.* (N.B.A.E., p. 329), and elsewhere in the book.

³ There is much in the book about the Purgative Way, but, as it shows no originality, we do not deal with it here.

⁴ Bk. xv, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 500): "It must be in itself apt and convenient and retired (*recogido*) and healthy and devout."

⁵ *Ibid.*, where Osuna considers in detail the relative advantages of solitude and society, concluding that there is much to be said for each. But the society must ever be that of fellow-aspirants, and congenial to the mystical mind.

⁶ Bk. vi, chaps. 3, 5, Bk. ix, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., pp. 382, 385, 418-19) and frequently elsewhere. Cf. bk. xxi, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 572): "It is most profitable to have fruition of God in secret, and, as it were, in darkness, for God loveth solitude, and hideth Himself in the darkness."

⁷ Bk. i, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 330).

⁸ Bk. xiv, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 473). He adds: "The reason that we make little progress in spiritual exercises is because we practise them but little, for there is none, howsoever low it be, which will not greatly profit us if we continually practise it." Cf. bk. viii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., pp. 406-9), where he warns the beginner very solemnly of the perils of turning back.

What, it may be asked, has this Franciscan to say upon the difficult question of the physical phenomena of mysticism? He says very little, for he had evidently little experience of them,¹ and accounted them, quite rightly, of secondary importance: perhaps his general attitude to all such minor matters may best be described by reproducing one of his strikingly individual narratives:

I once read a book which treated of many devout matters and of a certainty greatly aroused my indifference into love for the Lord. So I went to a learned man to extol it as a useful and profitable book for all who on earth would fain taste of the sacred manna which Jesus Christ sends from Heaven to His own. But he answered: "Oh, how many will this book send to hell!" And this he said in a faltering voice, which spoke no less eloquently than his words; so that I, astounded, enquired of him why it was so evil, and he replied that it exhorted men to reach God by acquiring a taste for sweetness [*i.e.* in devotion]. Of the same book spoke another devout person to another learned man, a master of much knowledge and virtue, and he replied that he had read that book and in it had found all the good that he had seen written of contemplation in other books diffusely. By the contrary opinions of these two learned men thou mayest be warned in thy self-examination, not to be easily credulous because one speaks to thee slightly of things devout. If in some book thou readest that thou shouldst beware of persons who have raptures, as though they had fits of frenzy, believe it not; and if they tell thee that he that wrote the book was a holy man, say thou that no holy man is

¹ He appears to have come at one time under the influence of the *beata* and *alumbrada* Francisca Hernández, but apparently not for long or to any great extent. See Eduard Boehmer, *Franziska Hernández und Frai Francisco Ortiz* (Leipzig, 1865), pp. 233 ff. Francisco Ortiz was a young Franciscan of great promise who was very greatly influenced by this woman, took her part resolutely, and was imprisoned for years on account of this: he was a very different type of mystic from Francisco de Osuna. P. Michel Ange (*art. cit.*) attacks Boehmer's book at various points, holding that he over-estimates Francisca Hernández' influence on Osuna. For his own part, he says, he prefers the internal evidence of Osuna's works to the doubtful conclusions of Boehmer: "Nous aurions vraiment de la peine à croire . . . que ce grand mystique ait jamais pris Francisca Hernández pour un modèle de vertus chrétiennes, ou pour un maître de recueillement, puisque . . . le recueillement du *Tercer Abecedario* est diamétralement opposé à tout ce qu'on voyait pratiqué par cette femme singeresse de la sainteté" (*Revista de Archivos*, 1913, Sept.-Oct., p. 192, *cf.* pp. 172 ff.).

bold enough to judge and condemn that which may be good, unless he have first examined it with great circumspection.¹

With such homely anecdotes does Fray Francisco counsel his readers to reserve their judgment on a matter too difficult for the dogmatist. On the one hand it can be declared that "in heaven there will be no deprivation of the senses nor raptures (*arrobamientos*), and even now there are many persons most near to God who have them not."² On the other hand "many persons there are, far from grace, who, seeing in others by outward signs that which they see not in themselves, call them deluded, frenzied or possessed, and others attribute to them evils of which hypocrisy is the least."³ Fray Francisco, who is above all a writer and a teacher from experience, knows little or nothing himself, it would seem, of physical phenomena, and therefore will not presume to give judgment, excepting upon those who dogmatize without sufficient data :

Those that neither by sanctity, which they have not, nor by letters, which they have never learned, can know of the motions (*movimientos*) which devout persons are wont to have, give adverse judgments upon that of which they are no judges, and say that no saint ever did such things, as if they forsooth had had converse with all the saints so long as they lived in this world.⁴

III

We now come to Osuna's direct teaching on Recollection (*recogimiento*), which is the *raison d'être*⁵ and the principal interest of the *Third Spiritual Alphabet*. Even a casual reader of the *Alphabet* would at once remark that its author says far more about the "exercise of recollection" than about all the other commonly accepted stages of the mystic life put together. It would therefore seem

¹ Bk. v, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 370).

² *Prólogo* (N.B.A.E., p. 321).

³ Bk. vi, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 378).

⁴ Bk. v, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 371).

⁵ Bk. viii, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 400) : "The cause which chiefly moved me to write this book was to bring to the general notice of all this exercise of recollection, etc." (see p. 84, above).

of the highest importance, if we would understand his teaching, to examine the chapters and passages dealing with such an exercise very carefully. In no other way can we discover exactly what it is, since the author is by no means always clear.

For some chapters Fray Francisco uses the word "recollection" without defining it. Only in Book VI ("Of the Recollection of the Soul") does he give any clear idea of what it is. He first entitles it "mystic theology" (*i.e.* he seems to make it embrace the whole of the mystic life), and contrasts it with "enquiring" or "speculative" theology, both as to its nature, and as to the qualities required in those who would practise it.¹ In the same chapter he gives it many names—such as Wisdom, the Art of Love ("for only by love is it attained, and by it more than by any other art or industry is love multiplied"), Profundity, and Union. The last part of this description must be quoted:

Furthermore, it is called Union, for by means of it man draws nigh to God,² and becomes one spirit with Him by an exchange of wills, so that the man wills naught but that which God wills, neither does God withdraw Himself from the will of the man, but they are in everything one will, as things that are perfectly united, which lose their own natures, and become transformed in a third: the which comes to pass in this business, for if God and the man before had diverse wills, now they agree in one without dissatisfaction of either. And from this it results that the man is at unity with himself and with his fellows; which if we all were, the multitude of the faithful would be one heart and one soul together in the Holy Spirit . . . Who makes us to be one in love, that He may beget us in grace and bring us all to be made one together with God.³

The importance of this passage is equalled by that of

¹ N.B.A.E., pp. 378–380. The greater part of this passage is translated in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 62–66.

² Cf. bk. xvii, chap. 5, "Our soul, which is a bird most swift, is born that it may fly to Divinity. . . . Though thy body be following Jesus, be not thou contented unless thy soul do follow His Divinity. . . . This following of Divinity is a thing very great, known by few and practised by fewer still: it pertaineth to men that in spirit are angelical (*varones angelicos*), who seek God whithersoever they go."

³ Bk. vi, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 380)

several other general descriptions of recollection which follow. We extract from these the most significant sentences only :

This exercise is likewise called in the Scriptures "concealment,"¹ wherein God hides Himself in the secret place of the heart of man ; for even to-day, speaking spiritually, Christ conceals Himself from His brethren, that is, from the faithful and from those that are devoted to Him. . . . In this concealment the Heavenly Father sees that which most gives Him pleasure ; and to this concealment, when the doors of the senses are fast shut, comes the Lord ; and in this secret place the Lord speaks the hidden word of His secret friendship. . . .²

And it is called a "kindling," whereby the torches of our hearts are to be kindled in the love of the Lord. . . . The breath with which the fire has to be kindled is this holy exercise. . . .³

Further it is called "attraction," whereby we may, as it were, attract God, for as a vacuum attracts the thing which is to fill it, so God is attracted by the heart that is void of worldly things, and fills it, and supplies its needs. . . .⁴

Furthermore it is called the coming of the Lord to the soul, for by its means the Lord visits His own who with sighing call upon Him.

And it is called a height which raises the soul, and friendship or the opening of the devout heart to the Heart of Christ.

And it is called spiritual ascension with Christ, and captivity wherein we subject to Him our understanding.

And it is that third heaven whither contemplatives are caught up.⁵

The writer himself, however, prefers to these various terms the word "recollection,"⁶ which also has good

¹ Osuna, like many of his contemporaries, "continually seeks Scriptural authority for his descriptions of the mystic life. Cf. bk. vi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 382). "He that ponders these words . . . will see that in the names which I have given to this exercise I have done naught but point out those parts of the Scriptures wherein it is secretly praised."

² Bk. vi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 380).

³ *Ibid.* (N.B.A.E., p. 381).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Though he often uses "contemplation" in a sense which, if not synonymous, is very nearly so, e.g. bk. viii, chap. 1 : "He who can soar aloft on the wing of contemplation and build in the heights his nest of recollection . . ."; bk. ii, chap. 7 : "In the work of contemplation God becomes our friend and shows man how great is the love which He bears him"; bk. xv, chap. 5 : "Three things principally are required for quiet and recollected contemplation"; the terms *varón recogido* and *varón contemplativo*, too, seem to be with Osuna synonymous.

authority, for the end of the "exercise" is "to re-collect and gather together that which is dispersed."¹ The word "recollected" has lost, it is true—he says—very much of its early meaning, since it is commonly applied to anyone "peaceful and quiet."² But we must remember that its true meaning is almost "in union," which is precisely the aim of the "exercise"—namely, "to bring man to be closely with God."³

Thou must observe, then, that this exercise is called "recollection": first, because by it those that use it are recollected, and made to be of one heart and love, putting aside all dissension and discord . . . and secondly, . . . because the man that uses it is in himself recollected, with relation to outward things. . . . Thirdly, by means of this exercise, sensuality is recollected, and brought under the sway of reason. . . . Fourthly, the man that practises it is recollected and led away so that he withdraws himself to secret places. . . . Fifthly, this exercise makes the senses to be recollected, so that they take no more pleasure in vain words. . . . The sixth thing that this holy exercise recollects is the members of the body . . . the seventh, the virtues of the man that gives himself to it. . . . The eighth thing to be recollected is the feelings of the man within his heart, wherein is the glory of the King's daughter, to wit, the Catholic soul. The ninth thing recollected is the soul with its powers . . . when the soul is raised above itself, and entirely recollected in the highest mansion (*cenáculo*) of all, intent only upon that one thing that hath raised it to the crest of the height and summit of the mount of God.

There remains but the tenth manner of "recollecting"⁴ [*i.e.* uniting] God and the soul in one . . . which comes to pass when the Divine brightness, as into glass or stone of crystal, is poured into the soul, sending forth like the sun the rays of its love and grace, which penetrate the heart, when they have been received by the highest powers of the spirit. This is followed by the most

¹ Bk. vi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 382).

² *Ibid.*

³ "Recollection is the most direct road to Sion," he says in one place (Bk. x, chap. 3, N.B.A.E., p. 434).

⁴ The very much wider range of the Spanish verb *recoger* than the English "recollect" makes it impossible to bring out the full force of the passage here excerpted: the Spanish word means among other things to "gather in," "harvest," "protect," "shelter," "withdraw," "take back," "take up," and some of these connotations it has, as will be seen, above; especially is it difficult to translate the last example of *recoger*, except by "uniting."

perfect recollection, which joins and unites (*recoge*) God with the soul and the soul with God.¹

These passages, and especially this last, to which we shall later return, cannot fail to leave in the reader's mind a sense of confusion. They suggest that Fray Francisco understands by "recollection," not what we should ourselves describe as an "exercise," not only one stage of the mystic life, or an aid to the living of that life, but more than one of its stages—even the life itself, complete and whole. Our first task is to discover exactly, if that be possible, the sense or senses in which Osuna uses the word.

It seems fairly evident that, unlike some of his contemporaries, Osuna *did* conceive of the mystic life as a whole, rather than as a series of mansions, or of halting-places, in any of which one might pass a lifetime. Though it may be possible to analyse his description and to discover a real progression of thought and experience, it is doubtful if he troubled to do so much for himself. St. Teresa, as we have seen, began her mystical life somewhat vaguely, but, as she grew in experience and grace, her conception of the Mystic Way became wonderfully clarified. St. John of the Cross even excelled her in clearness and precision : one feels in reading the *Dark Night of the Soul* that he could have given any aspirant a spiritual diagnosis—that he was always conscious of the precise stage which he or others had reached. It is not so with Francisco de Osuna. St. Teresa, it must be borne in mind, began not very far below the point where he left off. Whatever degrees of progression we may later discover in his accounts of the mystic life, we must recognize, and bear constantly in mind, that he himself is not concerned primarily to emphasize the idea of progression. He may write of this state or of that, but he does not set out to show their inter-relations. He could not, so his work suggests, have analysed very often the state of his soul while he himself was recollected : he could not have told enquirers on precisely what rungs of the celestial ladder they were standing, or, except in

¹ Bk. vi, chaps. 3-4 (N.B.A.E., pp. 382-4).

general language, how to mount to the next. "Recollection" is to him *one* state, *one* exercise, with variations of greater or less importance. Within that state the condition of the soul changes little, and may be described in general terms. Certain rules for profitable recollection may be laid down—and, as we shall see, he lays them down: they are applicable, with but few modifications, to beginners and proficient alike. And, if this method is less scientific than another, it is certainly more in accordance with the experiences of any but the most advanced of mystics.

With this premise, we may now examine the two long passages referred to above, and enquire what exactly Osuna means by Recollection. The first of these passages (that in Book VI) gives it different names—most of them somewhat vague, but one at least (that of "Union") suggesting a connotation quite other than the orthodox one.

Normally¹ we speak of "Recollection" as one of the early stages of the Mystic Life—a preparation for the state commonly referred to as the Spiritual Betrothal, the first of the fruits of meditation, the prelude to the Prayer of Quiet. St. Teresa, in her *Way of Perfection* and her *Mansions*,² makes it a special preparation for the fourth Mansion, or the Prayer of Quiet. To her, as to her early master Osuna, it is an "exercise" to be "practised," though, as she becomes more proficient, she tends to look upon it as an "experience" becoming increasingly more objective and supernatural.³ But she could never have used of it, as Osuna does, terms which she reserves, like most of her contemporaries, for the mysteries of the Spiritual Betrothal, or even of the Marriage. The idea of the Will of God and the will of man being "perfectly united, so that they lose their own natures and become transformed into a third," is an entirely new element of

¹ Some might object that there is no "normal" use and prefer the word "frequently." See Poulain, *Graces of Interior Prayer* (London, 1910), pp. 533-4; Underhill, *Mysticism* (London, 1923), pp. 369, 374 ff., etc. I strongly suspect that the confusion in St. Teresa's writings which these critics, partly following Delacroix, comment upon, is due to Osuna.

² See *Mansions*, IV, i; *Way of Perfection*, xxviii.

³ See pp. 176-8, below.

Recollection, as it is generally known. In the tenfold description of the exercise already excerpted ¹ we find one of the images familiarly associated with the Unitive Life, and this, too, is applied to Recollection. This is the figure of the sun's rays shining upon glass or crystal which allows them to penetrate it entirely.

Here, then, we touch the higher stages of the mystical life in Osuna's description of Recollection. But other passages may be found in which Recollection is described as an exercise so elementary that one hardly needs the mystical temperament to practise it. At the beginning of Book XV, to take one example, it is presented as a mere habit of mind, of value in all walks of life—to the scrivener, the carpenter, the painter as much as to the religious.² Elsewhere we read that in contemplation “our will *begins* to experience the things of eternal life”³: the statement, one would think, is true rather of meditation than of the higher degree of prayer.

What is the explanation of this apparent confusion of thought? It would seem to be that Fray Francisco uses the word Recollection in two ways: first, to express in general terms the whole of “mystical theology,” or the “mystic life,” as far as he knew it⁴; and secondly, in a more technical sense, corresponding approximately to St. Teresa's “exercise” or “experience” of preparation for the Fourth Mansions.

Here, in parenthesis, may be hazarded a not improbable conjecture. It has been seen that St. Teresa, though she knew the *Third Spiritual Alphabet* before writing her *Life*, only develops her description of Recollection in her later books. May it not be that Osuna's obscurity, which puzzles modern readers, also puzzled her, and that it was only after prolonged study of the

¹ See p. 96, above.

² Bk. xv, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 482): “Without recollection can one do nothing that is good.” After the examples quoted above we read: “And hence, as the inward workings are more excellent than those without, recollection is for them the more needful.”

³ Bk. xvi, chap. 8 (N.B.A.E., p. 507).

⁴ The “tenfold description” referred to above (pp. 96–7) might with a little subtlety be turned into the plan of such a life, less clear than St. Teresa's, it is true, but still tolerably comprehensible.

Alphabet that she saw the importance of Recollection in its narrower sense, or, alternatively, recognized her own earlier experiences in Osuna's pages?

We shall now consider in detail—first, Osuna's teaching on the *state* or *exercise* of recollection, and secondly, his ideas upon the *life* of recollection, that is, the mystic life as a whole.

IV

First, we find a twofold division of the state or exercise of Recollection, upon which Fray Francisco insists in the second chapter of Book XV: the one—*i.e.* the state—he calls “general,” the other—the exercise—“special,” and each is equally important.¹ The first is a kind of anticipation of the Prayer of Quiet; it consists in the “care which a man must ever have over his heart”: it is “to have the heart ever at rest and closed to the world,” “to live without care for things human.” “The first stone to be laid in the edifice of recollection is a state of spiritual suspension (*vacación*), in the which we may know that our heart has naught to do save to draw near to God.”² The second, or “special” kind of Recollection, is the “retiring in secret to pray to the Lord in silence, leaving entirely all other business and occupation to give thyself wholly to recollection . . . being dead to all things beside.”³

¹ “These two manners of recollection are most needful for thee if thou wilt progress in this way. Some say that the special recollection is the more so; others, the general; but to me it seems that thou shouldst study greatly to practise both” (bk. xv, chap. 2, N.B.A.E., p. 484).

² Bk. xv, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 483). The same counsel is given again and again in words which vary little, *e.g. ed. cit.*, p. 325: “Whithersoever thou goest, bear thy thought with thee. . . . Let not the body go one way, and the heart another”; p. 327: “It would be well that thou shouldst endeavour to bear thy heart ever with thee”; p. 386: “Let it not be said that he pursues recollection who all the day, or the greater part of it, is not alert and watchful, guarding his heart, nor he . . . that with slight occasion is distracted and withdrawn from God.”

³ Bk. xv, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 484). The same idea was outlined more vaguely in bk. i, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., pp. 333-4): “The two foundations of recollection (are) first, that thou be ever alert and watchful, checking the manifold impulses of thy heart; and, secondly, that thou follow immediately the admonition of thy good conscience.”

Here, then, Fray Francisco is distinguishing between a general "state" of recollectedness and the "exercise," which (he tells us later) should be practised "for the space of two hours, the one hour before midday, the other afterwards, in the quietest time thou canst procure."¹ "In no art canst thou become a master without frequently practising it, and the more thou dost practise and use it, the sooner wilt thou so become."²

The "special" Recollection, we soon find, is itself a twofold process: it has an active and a passive side.³ The active part is that which is properly referred to as the "exercise" which is to be "practised" for a set time daily. It is of the greatest moment to the mystic, to be pursued with diligence and method, for only so will its reward in time be won.⁴ We read, possibly with surprise, that a master in the exercise is needful: God works in this matter, in the first place, through human agency. "Naught is there in the world, neither exercise, nor science, nor office, nor faculty, nor other thing, how subtle soever it be, that hath so great need of a master as recollection, albeit the human master in this business can do less in it than the master of any other thing in his faculty: yet he is most necessary."⁵

It is of the second kind of "special" Recollection, however—the reward and crown of the first⁶—that Osuna writes with the greatest originality. This is that grace "which God pours into the soul,"⁷ known frequently to mystical writers as the Prayer of Quiet. It is this state of Quiet to which Osuna is usually referring

¹ Or, again, in bk. xiii, chap. 4 and elsewhere, the mystic is urged to practise recollection (as he might be urged to practise vocal prayer) before going to sleep, and immediately on waking.

² Bk. vi, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 385).

³ Cf. the opening paragraphs of bk. xiii, where, in more general terms, the part of man is defined, and the part of God. The same theme recurs, with variations, throughout the book.

⁴ It is defined, in words which lose force in translation, as "el que se alcanza por solícita industria" (bk. ii, chap. 2; N.B.A.E., p. 335).

⁵ Bk. viii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 407). The greater part of the eighth book deals with the qualifications of the master.

⁶ ". . . Recollection wherein we strive, that God may possess our souls in peace" (bk. vii, chap. 6; N.B.A.E., p. 394).

⁷ Bk. ii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 335).

when he writes of "recollection" as "repose of contemplation,"¹ "quiet and recollected contemplation,"² "the emptying of ourselves,"³ "spiritual emptiness,"⁴ "spiritual suspension,"⁵ and in other such terms. His expositions of the state of Quiet it was which commended his book so greatly to St. Teresa, whom, as we have seen, he influenced strongly. It will not, therefore, be thought excessive to quote his principal descriptions of the Prayer of Quiet at some length.⁶

When the devout person closes the windows of the senses, his understanding is in darkness, for no light can reach it except through these. But if he takes upon himself the yoke of faith, which tells him that bodily eyes cannot see, nor ears hear, neither can there enter into the heart—that is, the thought of man—that which God hath prepared for them that love Him, then if he recollect himself as he should, he will receive that good and perfect gift that is from above and cometh down from the Father of lights; and the darkness which he had before, through the negation of his own understanding, will turn into brightest noonday, wherein the Beloved feeds His flocks. . . .⁷

In recollection God ever gives rest to man; and, albeit through our negligence we oft times lose this rest and quietness, yet there ever remains in the soul that has truly tasted recollection an exceeding great desire to return to it. . . .⁸

In a second passage, which is at once too long to quote in full, and so beautiful as to make some quotation imperative, Fray Francisco describes the Prayer of Quiet in more intimate terms. He is detailing two manners

¹ Bk. xii, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 451).

² Bk. xv, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 488).

³ For which reason humility is likened to recollection. "The intent of humility is to empty man of himself, and recollection is naught else but the emptying of ourselves, that God may have more room in our hearts" (bk. xix, chap. 1: N.B.A.E., p. 534).

⁴ Bk. xv, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 483).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ It will be noted that he frequently speaks of it simply as "recollection" or "contemplation." But the context nearly always shows whether it is to the "active" or the "passive," to the "exercise" of Recollection, or to the "state" of Quiet, that he is referring.

⁷ Bk. x, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 432).

⁸ *Ibid.*

of spiritual instruction, corresponding to the "exercise" and the "state" of Recollection : the first manner is by study, the second by prayer. Of the latter he writes thus :

The second manner wherein God instructs His own is when within themselves they hear certain things very clearly, as it were with the ear of the heart ; at other times it seems that the speech comes from the heart, and that the man himself makes it not, but that another opens the heart that the words may issue therefrom ; and at times the capacity of the soul is so greatly increased in quietness and sweetness, that it seems to see and know the whole world and the services rendered to God therein and to take delight in them ; and at other times it seems that the eyes of the soul are opened so that it may see the offences done to God and grieve for them, and may see likewise all that is to come, and all that is done in places far away.

The other manner wherein God instructs those that attain to Him is without interior working or speech, in such secret wise that the soul itself is not conscious of it at the time, nor until it feels itself growing in discretion. . . .

The mother of the soul . . . is the will ; her home is the heart : and God is borne not only into the home, but to the bed, which is this same recollection whereof we speak. In this bed God reposes ; the dwelling is darkened, the windows of the senses are closed, and, as the bride said (*según dijo la esposa*), God instructs the soul by experience in many things. And to cause Him to sleep, and keep Him with her, she gives Him wine prepared with many spices, fixing all her desires on God alone ; and she gives Him to drink pomegranate juice, which is the fervour drawn from the inmost parts of her being, which parts are covered with purity and tintured with love.¹

A third description introduces a kind of ecstasy which is evidently not identical with Quiet, but which that state may well induce in the soul :

If in this short chapter I have not expounded this better way of grace, it was because I knew not how to do it in few words, nor do I think to be able to express in many, all that I feel about this matter. Yet I will begin to say somewhat, leaving the rest for those that have full experience of it, and can say with David . . . "Thou hast set my feet in a large room." . . .²

¹ Bk. xii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., pp. 453-4).

² Ps. xxxi, 8.

For some exposition of this state, in the which would to God that we were, thou must know that when the devout seeker (*ejecutor*), solicitously pursuing and exercising himself in mental prayer and recollection, goes on his way without turning back or allowing himself to be depressed by his task, our Lord is wont to place him, after much prayer, in a state of praise, so that his praises of Him issue from within his soul. So full is that soul of the grace of the Lord, that grace bursts forth, is poured from the lips, and issues in such a giving of thanks that the whole soul would fain melt away, seeing itself in so great happiness, being so near to the Lord, and knowing itself to be so greatly loved by Him, according to the clear witness of a conscience wrapt in the deepest peace. Then the soul forgets all things and is greatly at rest in that which it feels; the understanding thinks only of the source from which all this could spring; and the will with great love rejoices in God, exclaiming in the words of the psalm: "Among the gods there is none like unto Thee, O Lord; neither are there any works like unto Thy works."¹

To this giving of thanks, which is performed now in repose, now in the fervour of the spirit, man comes not by having thought upon it or striven after it. For some devout men there are who neither had known of it nor heard what thing it was, nor had desired it, yet fell into it and experienced it, or rather were placed in it; while continuing, as I said, in their exercise of prayer, they chance to pass through this happy state, they arrive at this place, and remain in it for so long as the Lord allows. . . .²

A shorter passage describes the Prayer of Quiet as "spiritual sleep":

As sleep is needful for the body, to sustain bodily life, so to the soul of the perfect man³ sleep of the spirit is needful also to sustain the life of love, which he receives from God with a quiet (*quietativa*) sweetness which withdraws love from the heart, that the heart may keep vigil and the senses sleep to every creature. And the fumes caused by this heat which rises from the graces close not the channels of the soul, but rather widen them, that the powers of the soul may work and the natural powers cease. And the more these latter cease and are at rest, the more truly and delectably do the others work throughout the inner man, which is sovereignly

¹ Ps. lxxxvi, 8.

² Bk. ii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 335).

³ *del varón perfecto*. The reference is to those in the traditional third grade of mystical progress. See, e.g., p. 111. The term is hardly applicable, and is probably used loosely.

restored and strengthened in such degree that at times he can dispense with bodily sleep, since the spiritual sleep has supplied all his needs ; or at the least one that was wont to sleep four hours is content with a single hour, and, when he awakens, returns immediately to prayer.¹

Another interesting description of the inducing of a state of peace which is probably identical with the Prayer of Quiet is given by Osuna in the following words :

The tranquillity and quietude of recollection is caused by the Lord, and produced by His own hand in many persons who, thinking themselves incapable of it for lack of strength, induce within themselves a tempest of fatigue and inward grief, because they may not attain their desire. So as a mark of this desire they weep and shed tears, whereupon the Lord infuses into them joy (*infunde gozo*). And this joy is called "infused," because it comes from above, whence they looked for favour. It has none of the savour nor any qualities of the joys of earth, which in comparison are but as a speck (*punto*), having no depth wherewith they may enter the conscience of the righteous man, nor height, since in naught are they comparable with the joys of Heaven, nor extent or breadth, since we have them neither at our birth nor at our death.²

Yet another, and a most beautiful description, stresses and develops the element of "silence" in this supernatural state :

Marvellous indeed, and most worthy of praise with all wonder, is the silence (*callar*) of love wherein most intimately is our understanding hushed to rest, having found, by means of its experience, that which satisfies it greatly. For, as we clearly see, when two that love know each by experience that the other is present, then are both silent, and the love that unites them supplies the lack of words.

All the troubles of a child are at an end in the embrace of his mother ; no longer does he desire to speak, and she, too, is silent in her love. O, how indescribable, how ineffable is the silence wherein God and the soul are stilled, when He descends upon her like a river of peace and like sweetest stream of honey³ ; when

¹ Bk. xiii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., pp. 468-9).

² Bk. x, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 433).

³ The reference is to Isa. lxvi, 12, and in the preceding lines there are reminiscences of its context.

from Him that is a living fountain run down to her the waters of Shiloah in silence ; ¹ when, ceasing from words, they come to works ; when the soul is still, knowing not what to ask for herself, seeing that the complement of her desires is filled ; when the Lord is still, having naught for which to reprove one that gives such signs of love ; when the soul sees her purity in the love which flows from her to her Creator ; when she sees her cleanness in that the Lord is within her, Who puts away all her sins and makes her as a white dove washed with the purest milk of grace ; she sleeps, for she seeks not to enquire concerning anything ; her heart watches, for love sleeps not in peace and in the object of its love ; her understanding slumbers, and her will is at rest because it is united with God and made one spirit with Him ; then is there a Sabbath of Sabbaths, for from the repose of the fantasy which travailed in imagination comes the quiet of the will, and this, being wholly kindled and absorbed in Him that consumes not, needs not the fuel of thoughts lest the fire of love wherewith it burns should be extinguished.²

Finally, something must be said of a passage dealing mainly, but not wholly, with the Prayer of Quiet, which, for its great importance, is transcribed almost at length :

In this recollection there are many degrees, and it is of many kinds. One degree there is which is but simple mortification of every thought, as it were a kind of restful slumber and tranquil silence, wherein naught is heard, and which none can destroy. And it comes marvellously to pass that when some thought visits the heart it is stayed without, so that before the soul is conscious of what it was, it is gone. It is as though from afar off we forbade a person to draw near, but it all comes to pass before the soul is aware of it, so that we ourselves marvel ; and if we desire later to know what it was that came to our memory, we cannot tell what it was : the soul only knows that something came to disturb it and was stayed. This way of recollection belongs to those that have advanced farther than the beginner, and it is not without grace, for in it the soul finds great content, although it knows neither joy (*gusto*) nor any feeling, but only pleasure (*apacimiento*).

Another recollection is there, more active, wherein the intellect alone takes part, and the man keeps careful guard over his recollection, taking account of that which he does, and bringing to it

¹ Cf. Isa. viii, 6 (A.V.) : " The waters of Shiloah that go softly."

² Bk. xxi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 564).

both strength and skill. Herein the adept (*aprovechados*)¹ are wont to experience great things.

Again, there are some that at times have a manner of recollection, which is as it were a forgetting of themselves, so that they know not where they are. And when they turn for a time within themselves, they ask themselves whence this comes, what it has done, and what is the meaning of it ; but they cannot find an answer. This recollection likewise is of the greatest virtue, and with the adept it becomes a habit. . . .

Again, there is another way wherein the soul is within the body, tightly enclosed as it were within a box, and here it knows a secret joy which arises from the spiritual ardour which it feels. The five senses it has cast aside, and is as though it had them not. It comprehends naught that can be uttered, but like a little child it joys within the breast with a delight of its own. And it longs for no distractions, nor for the use of eyes or ears, nor for any means whereby it may escape.²

In these manners of recollection the understanding is never so far silenced as to be deprived completely of its powers. For it ever retains a tiny spark, sufficient only for those that are in this state to recognise that they have somewhat that is of God. Thus in tranquillity and silence it appears that, though it does nothing, the understanding is little by little discovering what comes to pass in these matters, and yet the soul itself would have no wish to do even this, for it would fain but die in the Lord and for His sake be wholly lost. There come also moments and crises wherein the understanding entirely ceases, as though the soul were without intelligence whatsoever. But then the living spark of simplest knowledge is seen again, which is a thing of wonder, since it is in the total cessation of the understanding that the soul receives the most grace. So soon as it revives again and comes out, as it were, from the cloud, it finds itself with this grace, but knows neither whence nor how it has come ; and having it, would fain return to its mortification and the cessation of understanding. So it returns, as one that plunges into the water and comes out again with that which it desired. In these matters the soul consumes time without perceiving it, and an hour seems to it scarcely a moment. At times, so complete is its ignorance that that which it felt escapes and as it were slips away from the heart : the way to recover it is to enter again into a more intimate recollection.³

¹ See p. 111, below.

² Cf. Juan de los Ángeles, who copies this paragraph (see p. 374, below).

³ Bk. xxi, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., pp. 570-72). In order that this important last paragraph may be readily compared with the unusually similar descrip-

This passage gives an idea, as effective as any, of the variety of ways in which Osuna uses the word "recollection." Active recollection (St. Teresa's "preparatory" exercise),¹ the supernatural state of quiet, a state of joy, and a state of forgetfulness, are severally described, with notes upon each—all the notes, it may be remarked, are of a strictly practical and psychological character.

A study of these passages, and more particularly of the last chapter of Book XXI² and the extracts quoted from it, shows that Osuna put his own experience beside his reading, and refused to draw too rigid lines in making his map of the life of recollection. To him there were many mansions for the saints on earth no less than for the saints in Heaven. "Those that wholly give themselves to this sacred exercise of recollection receive many kinds of grace from the Lord, each after his kind, and according to his ability or deserving and the preparation which he makes to receive it."³

Nevertheless, a careful synthesis of the various passages transcribed above will give a fairly clear account of the condition of the soul and its powers⁴ in the Prayer

tions of St. Teresa (*cf.* pp. 157, 173, below), its original is transcribed below: "En estos recogimientos no se acalla tanto el entendimiento que del todo esté privado; ca siempre queda una centella muy pequeña, bastante solamente para que conozcan los tales que tienen algo y que es de Dios; de manera que asesegada y calladamente parece que el entendimiento está acechando lo que pasa en estas cosas, como que no hace nada; y parece que el ánima no querría que hubiese ni aun aquello, sino morir en el Señor y perderse allí por El. Y allegan trances o puntos que totalmente cesa el entendimiento, como si el ánima no fuese intelectual; empero luego se torna a descubrir la centella viva del muy sencillo conocimiento, y es cosa de admiración, ca en aquel cesar de entender totalmente recibe más gracia. Y desde que torna a revivir y salir de la niebla se halla con ella sin saber por dónde ni cómo la hubo; y por haber más, se querría tornar a mortificar ninguna cosa entendiendo, y torna como quien se zabelle en el agua y sale de nuevo con lo que deseaba. En estas cosas pasa tiempo el ánima sin sentirlo, y apenas se le hace una hora un soplo; y a las veces no sabiendo cómo ni cómo no se le escapa y resbala del corazón aquello que sentía, y el remedio para lo cobrar es comenzar de nuevo a se recoger muy íntimamente."

¹ See p. 98, above.

² Entitled "In which other famous doctors praise Recollection": a synthesis of passages from SS. Augustine, Bonaventura, Gregory, Dionysius, etc. (N.B.A.E., pp. 570-72).

³ Bk. x, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 440).

⁴ On the powers of the soul, see book ii, chap. 8 (concluding paragraphs). The student, to avoid confusion, should also note the beginning of book iv, chap. 3.

of Quiet. The senses are entirely inactive : according to which metaphor is preferred, they are "closed" or "cast aside," or they "sleep to every creature"—no worldly matters are permitted to enter the soul's domain. As to the faculties (*potencias*) of the soul, there is not complete agreement between the various accounts of their condition. A whole book (Book XI) is devoted to the memory—*i.e.* both within and without the mystic life—its refrain being principally "Have ever memory of God. . . . Be ever mindful. . . . Keep the memory occupied continually." This applies not only to the memory in the lower stages of the recollected life, but also to "another and higher memory" of which Osuna says that it "greatly befits those that follow recollection," which "perfects it."¹ But although in this connexion the mystic is exhorted to "have the sacred name of God for ever in the memory all the time that thou canst,"² it is clear from the context that it is not the Prayer of Quiet which is here in question at all, but the "exercise" of recollection. The passages which describe the Prayer of Quiet say little of the memory, but all give the idea that it is to rest.³ For the understanding (says the author almost whenever he describes the state) is "in darkness," the "natural powers cease," and "thought is stayed without" the heart if it seeks to enter.⁴ It is true that, except for brief moments, the fire of the understanding is never entirely quenched : the "tiny spark" mentioned

¹ Bk. xi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 444).

² *Ibid.*, N.B.A.E., p. 445. "The memory which recollected persons have of God is like a breath that kindles the fire of love, which before was deadened, like a drop of vinegar that penetrates the soil of the heart, and like the sweetest voice of one that we love, causing the most tender delight in our inmost being as we hear it" (bk. xi, chap. 4, p. 446).

³ *E.g.* bk. xxi, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 567) : "The memory at rest and the understanding stilled"; *ibid.*, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 572) : "Thou must most inwardly hush the memory and still the understanding . . . nor when thou dost begin to feel the communion of the Lord shouldst thou speak loving words, even though they seem good to thee, and thy soul delighteth in them."

⁴ Many passages exalting the understanding in recollection will be found, but the context will invariably show that the Prayer of Quiet is not referred to. The only passage describing that state, or something akin to it, in which the understanding is represented as completely active, is the "ecstatic" one translated above (pp. 103-4) where the understanding is said to "think of the source" of its joy—namely, God.

above always burns, and, if at times it seems to flicker out, invariably springs up again. But apart from this the understanding is as though it were not, while, on the other hand, the will exults and rejoices. One of the finest books in the whole work (Book XXI) deals entirely with the repose of the understanding, exhorting those that would attain to the "rest" of the Prayer of Quiet to calm and to silence the understanding that the will may have free play.¹ From an exposition many pages in length only a few lines can be quoted :

The understanding, which curiously searches out and revolves within itself the secrets of things, must be left, that thou mayest know God by the path of negation whereof we speak. . . . By this manner of silencing the understanding that the will may speak is made the short prayer, which penetrates into Heaven in an instant. I call it not short because it is of brief duration, but because it has no intermediary with God, save that of love alone, which can bring union with Him immediately. . . . By love we are drawn out from ourselves, and set and placed within that which we love : love enters the most secret place of all, while knowledge remains without among the creatures. . . . Most salutary counsel is it then to await the salvation of God in silence,² for thus, while all things within us are suspended in silence . . . there comes from the royal throne in this state of suspension the powerful word of God to our hearts.³

A further exhortation, in more figured and varied language, conveys advice substantially the same :

Two wings were given to our souls wherewith they might fly to God and to the solitude of interior recollection . . . namely, the understanding and the will : the which were given to it that it might seek that repose wherein the solitude of the heart is found, and which the hand of God provides with all things needful to increase our desire, preparing it by His own Divine power,⁴ our human powers being insufficient. These wings, as St. John says,

¹ See the passage quoted immediately below from bk. xxi, chap. 3, and also chap. 5 : "when the understanding has ceased its speculations, the will issues with great power, producing love." (Cf. p. 118, below.)

² Probably a reference to 2 Chron. xx, 17-18.

³ Bk. xxi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 563). Cf. Wisdom xviii, 14-15.

⁴ The word here translated "power" is *industria*. The translation, "dexterity," "skill," hardly, in English, suits the context.

are of the eagle, whose flight and conversation ¹ are in the heavens ; for those that follow this way of prayer may call themselves more fitly of heaven than of earth, saying with St. Paul " Our conversation is in heaven."

Yet though this be so, there are those that take thought and strive to attain to this repose of contemplation, using the left wing of understanding as one that with a single oar will row toward the haven of repose, and with one arm will swim to reach the shore. To these our chapter says that not by understanding, which is to use the left wing, but by taking pleasure, which is to use the right wing, they may think to reach the state of rest which they desire.²

It is only by " casting out the turbulent throng of thoughts " that the mystic may at the last come to enjoy " the sovereign peace of recollection that passeth all understanding." ³

V

Of the mystic life considered in its entire course, Fray Francisco says less in detail than of the " exercise " and the " state " of recollection. He distinguishes quite clearly three stages, corresponding to the three states of purgation, illumination and perfection. These he calls the state reached by beginners (*principiantes*), by those who have made, and are making, some progress (*aprovechantes* or *aprovechados*), and by the " adept," " proficient," or " perfect " (*perfectos*⁴). The division is a conventional one, and it is not in such classifications that Francisco himself speaks to us. He is much more concerned with the good of the individual soul, whether it be that of a contemplative or an active, than with attempts to map out the soul's progress. But nevertheless he is quite

¹ The word used is *conversación*, with obvious reference to the same word in the following quotation from Phil. iii, 20.

² Bk. xii, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 451).

³ Bk. xxi, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 562).

⁴ Or occasionally "*aprovechados*." In all the passages translated below, and in many other places, the word *aprovechados* refers to those in the second stage of progress. It is mainly in contexts where it retains some of its verbal force that it is used to denote " adepts " or " proficient." Cf. San Juan de la Cruz, *Obras* (Toledo, 1912), vol. ii, p. 47 (*Noche Oscura del Sentido*, xiv) : " El camino y vía del espíritu, que es el de los aprovechantes y aprovechados."

clear about the threefold division, and it is an implicit factor in many of his expositions :

Three ways of sadness (*tristeza*) canst thou consider as belonging to recollected persons. The first pertains to beginners, and is caused by their having offended God ; the second, which is of the progressive (*aprovechados*) is caused by their having no sweet perception of the presence of God, which they desire abundantly ; the third is that of the perfect, and is, as I said, so secret that they know not whence it proceeds.¹

The first manner of prayer is like a letter sent to a friend. The second is as though we sent it to some person closely related to us. The third, as if we went in person. The first is to kiss the feet ; the second to kiss the hands ; the third to kiss the mouth. The first may be reduced to faith, . . . the second to hope . . . and the third to love. . . . The first pertains to purgation, the second to illumination, the third to perfection, which are the three hierarchical acts. By the first is perfected memory ; by the second, understanding ; by the third, will.²

Those who are good beginners weep that they may become wholly recollected. . . . Those in the way of recollection who may be called progressives (*aprovechantes*), or, who are in the second degree, cease not to shed tears without intent to weep. . . . The perfect have other and more perfect tears, which come from the joy that they receive on seeing that they are loved of God, and that He gives them His grace in abundance.³

This chapter will exhort (beginners) to turn within themselves, taking courage and giving themselves to the fight, never holding themselves vanquished when they are greatly wearied in this desert. . . . Progressives (*aprovechados*) have a very spiritual way of inward working, which comes to pass so soon as the man turns within himself and is alone. . . . The perfect, after a loftier manner, turn within ; their silence is of another kind, more perfect and efficacious ; their hope has greater strength and endures longer in the soul, thinking to find, at every step, that which it longs for.⁴

¹ Bk. xiv, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 482).

² Bk. xiii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 467).

³ Bk. x, chaps. 2, 4, 5 (N.B.A.E., pp. 432, 434, 435).

⁴ Bk. xviii, chaps. 2, 3 (N.B.A.E., pp. 528, 530).

Let beginners turn often within themselves, bewailing their evil life that is past, and that in silence, which is patience, as I said, in the hope that they may progress. Let progressives (*aprovechados*) turn within themselves from the distractions of the heart in most quiet silence and with hope of the present grace which they expect to receive from their generous Lord ; and let the perfect turn within themselves in recollection with fervent hearts directed to God, and with the deepest silence as to all things created, and with such firm and strong hope as with desire may transport this silence to heavenly things.¹

Like all mystics, Fray Francisco knew something of those Dark Nights which St. John of the Cross has described with more vividness and detail than any other.² But the great trials of the Dark Night of the Soul beset only those who are approaching the highest state of Union. And it is clear enough that Osuna is not speaking of these heights in passages like the following³ :

The most common temptation that God is wont to send in this terrible solitude of recollection is a dryness and lack of the fresh water of devotion which commonly abounds in that desert—fresher, indeed, it ordinarily is than elsewhere, though it springs not up quickly, and must be sought with labour. . . .

Sometimes, however, through our fault, the Lord dries up the water-springs, and the place of His glory in that desert becomes barren—always through our fault. In two ways is God wont to take away our devotion. First, by taking from the devout soul that spiritual content and delight which it was accustomed to experience with much sweetness ; in the which the soul is restored and comforted greatly, the more so when it is experienced during recollection, for the bread of consolation is the sweeter herein for being secret. One manner of taking grace from the soul, therefore, is when the Lord deprives it of this consolation and afflicts it with thirst.

The second manner is more greatly to be feared, being more severe. It is when charity has been withdrawn from a man, and he loses all the solicitude and anxiety that he was wont to have in seeking God, so that now he cares not to recollect himself nor

¹ Bk. xviii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 534).

² See pp. 249–62, below.

³ From a chapter entitled “ Of how devotion is wont to fail during recollection ” (bk. xx, chap. 4, N.B.A.E., p. 548).

wishes to pray, but loses the anxiety and the holy desire which he had before.

The second of these experiences—which is not described in greater detail—has a superficial similarity with the Dark Night of the Soul. The statement, however, made and repeated,¹ that the experience is always the result of sin, is sufficient to show that the two are not identical, and the remainder of the passage, which attributes the first experience to venial sin, and the second to mortal, makes this certain. Another short passage in which Osuna writes of certain terrors of the mystic life is much more like a description of the Dark Night of the Soul :

There is a thing often felt by those that practise recollection, which is a fear most terrible, making it seem as if the soul would leave the body from very terror.² This lasts but a short time, though to many it comes with frequency,³ and so affrights and deters the soul that the soul loses its peace and is filled with dread, not knowing what will become of it. Neither words nor effort nor devotion suffice to calm it ⁴ . . . This mighty dread comes often without any thought preceding it, and without any sound—at times, when the soul is recollected and in great devotion.⁵ This can be none other than the Devil, who comes to obstruct the soul,⁶ and, since God allows him to make his presence felt, he causes that new and sudden terror which shakes the whole being. It resembles in no way the earthly fears which we are wont to feel at the darkness of night, thinking upon persons that are dead ; nor those

¹ Cf. also bk. xii, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 457) : “ And although Gerson gives fifteen reasons for which the Lord withdraws from us the joy (*gusto*) of devotion, the chief seem to me to be our lukewarmness and our sin.” St. John of the Cross (*Noche Oscura del Sentido*, ix) enumerates three tests by which the night of purgation may be distinguished from aridity caused by sin. (See below, p. 251, n. 1.)

² *Noche Oscura del Espíritu*, v : “ The soul . . . will almost faint away ” ; vi : “ If it were not His will that these feelings, when they rise, should quickly be set at rest again, the soul would almost immediately depart from the body.”

³ According to St. John of the Cross (*Noche Oscura del Espíritu*, vii) the Dark Night of the Spirit is an experience which will last for years, with periods of relief.

⁴ *Noche Oscura del Espíritu*, vii, *passim*.

⁵ *Noche Oscura del Espíritu*, vii : “ When the soul is most secure, and least expects it, [the Dark Night] returns, and drags down the soul.”

⁶ It is needless to remark that this explanation is the antithesis of that given by St. John of the Cross, in whose thought the Dark Night is wholly divine.

which we should feel on seeing a serpent. The soul is conscious of no movement or bodily tremor, yet it fears exceedingly. And this, as I believe, is caused by the Devil's making his presence somewhat to be felt ; so that I think if we could be conscious of our guardian angel, and God would permit it, his presence would cause in us great good.¹

In writing of the darker side of Recollection, Francisco de Osuna also speaks of a certain "sadness" (*tristeza*), already alluded to,² which is quite other than that caused by the absence of devotion³—"the sadness of the proficient (*perfectos*)," ⁴ he calls it, "and so secret a thing that they know not whence it proceeds."⁵ He does not attempt to fit the experience into any plan of the mystical life : it is something which none have taught him, of which he has never read—it is "the greatest of all manners of sadness," ⁶ and his intensely graphic description of it stamps it as a personal experience. We may therefore think of it as akin to the phenomenon of the Dark Night, though less like it than is the experience described in the preceding passage. It is represented, however, as being, not a work of the Devil, but a gift of God :

It comes at times with sighs of deepest yearning, and impels a man to be in solitary places (*lugares tristes*) ; and he that feels it can in no wise be consoled. It is a thing most difficult to see whence it proceeds : it darkens the soul, and enters into the heart ;

¹ Bk. vii, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 390).

² See p. 112, above.

³ The difference is quite clear, he says, though only to adepts, who have experienced both kinds : "That which comes to a man through the want of devotion which he feels is distressing and causes grievous torment . . . while this other sadness of recollection is quiet and causes no distress, bearing with it a kind of faintness and a love of being alone." Bk. xiv, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 482).

⁴ In various parts of the treatise, and especially in book xii (with which cf. bk. v, chap. 3), the reader will find warnings against taking satisfaction and finding contentment in "sweetness" in devotion, "inward joys" and "spiritual delights." Cf. St. Teresa's phrase "Perfection consists, not in consolations, but in increase of love" ; see p. 169, below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

⁶ "Of this sadness, which I believe to be the greatest of all manners of sadness, I have read nothing, but I wished to make mention of it for the consolation of those that attain to it" (*ibid.*, p. 482).

it would seem that its wings are black, for it throws into mourning all things both within and without. It is wont to occasion swoons ; and he that suffers it would fain die. It brings with it a kind of dread and wonder. At times it causes tears, for which there can be given no reason. Some persons that experience this sadness are wont to feel or to perceive with the eyes of the soul a sort of shadow or mist or smoke that descends upon them, which gives them much to fear, since they know not what it is, and strive to put it aside as an unsubstantial thing, saying that it is a phantom. And this may happen whether by night or by day ; for since it passes chiefly in the soul, neither physical place and light, nor the darkness of the night can be any hindrance to it.

This sadness so intense and deeply rooted in the heart . . . when in thy recollection thou dost feel it, thou must count it a blessing ; for it is a common experience upon this road. And thou must give to it thy heart, taking pleasure in it for itself, and thinking of no other thing whatsoever. Yet must thou follow this counsel : take not from it, neither add to it, but permit it to run its course at will, for if thou put it from thee, thou wilt put aside with it much that is good, while if thou seekest to increase it thou wilt take from it much of its price. . . .

When upon thy soul there descend these things from above, thou must constrain it (having first prayed, and cleansed thy heart of mortal sin) that it fear not nor be dismayed, but trust, as though it were in peril of death, and put its confidence in the Lord. For if the Lord watch over His enemies, how much the more will He care for His friends.¹

It seems fairly clear that the writer of the *Alphabet* had no conception of a higher mystic life than that of the *Spiritual Betrothal*,² and not much more than a dim idea of that. He stops, that is to say, at a point below that which his pupil, St. Teresa, had reached, even when she wrote the earliest of her mystical works. His descriptions of the condition of the "perfect" are sufficient proof of this. He knows—whether by reading or by experience is not clear—that there is a "summit of contemplation" where the soul "suffers rather than works

¹ Bk. xiv, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 481).

² As far, that is to say, as his works enlighten us. But as he held that "it is a great impediment and hindrance to recollection to manifest to others the grace which the Lord grants in this exercise" (book xv, chap. 4), it is impossible to say what secret experiences of his own he may have refrained from revealing.

and is moved rather than itself moves," a state "near Divinity itself, which can be comprehended neither by our mortal senses nor by the spiritual senses of the soul while it is yet united to this mortal body."¹ The implications of such a statement as this are far-reaching, but they are not supported by other passages, even stray ones, still less by a considered description of the Unitive Life. Indeed, Osuna explicitly says that perfection, in the true sense, is in this world impossible.²

A passage both for its vagueness and its beauty fairly representative of Osuna's occasional expositions of the highest state to which he looks, as opposed to short phrases and single words which cannot be taken too literally, is the concluding part of the description of the "tenth manner" of recollection already referred to.³ Upon it our survey of Fray Francisco's mysticism may close :

The soul, like a second Jacob, ascends to Bethel, which being interpreted is the House of God, for there God receives (*se recoge a*)⁴ the soul as into His own House. And as though He had not the heavens wherein to dwell He descends to the Mount of Bethel, to gather to Himself (*recogerse*) the soul that in Him alone finds refuge (*se acoge*) . . . There upon that mountainous height appears God in all His noblest works (*obrando altísimas cosas*), descending upon the altar of the heart, which is raised there, with the stones of its whole powers and the dust or earth of its cogitations.

¹ Bk. iii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 350). He does not, like some of his bolder contemporaries, contemplate the "deification" of the soul in Union, unless we may give that interpretation to a clause in one of his alliterative prayers, "Dios deificador de los que se dan a ti" (bk. xvi, chap. 10, N.B.A.E., p. 511). Cf. bk. xii, chap. 1: "Those that follow this manner of prayer may rather be called of heaven than of earth." But this and other such phrases we can only take in their figurative and general sense.

² ". . . and further it must be presupposed that in the present life no aspirant to purity ever attained such a degree of perfection that he could say it was impossible to attain a greater" (bk. xvii, chap. 6, N.B.A.E., p. 522). "In this world the business of recollection cannot be brought to an end, but it may be begun" (bk. xxiii, chap. 1, N.B.A.E., p. 583). No writer that I know of *contradicts* these statements, but there is a difference almost amounting to contradiction in the terms in which writers like St. John of the Cross speak of the Unitive Life, e.g. "The soul becomes God, by participation in God, so far, that is, as in this life may be possible" (*Spiritual Canticle*, xxii).

³ See pp. 96-7, above.

⁴ Note the suggestions of *recogimiento* in the verbs throughout this passage.

There He changes the name of Jacob, for the inward strife has ceased, and all imaginings are cast aside. There he gives him the new name of Israel, which signifies one that has prevailed in the victory over himself, manfully gathering together (*recogiendo*) his forces and making his way, like a valiant warrior, upwards to the summit of the mountain. And it signifies also him of whom God taketh possession, for this is that which comes to pass when the human spirit takes refuge in God (*se recoge a Dios*) and is united with Him that can do all things.¹

VI

In view of the rise of quietism and the popularity of such doctrines as Molinos' in the century following that in which Osuna wrote, it is important to find that he is not only untouched by them, but devotes a chapter to confuting those (the "undevout") who accused the mystics of over much passivity,² and said that "nothing can come of nothing." It is not hard to dispose of their arguments, writes Osuna, by showing that they have entirely misrepresented the mystical process in question :

Recollected persons in no wise count it perfection to think nothing, for to do this would be to count those who sleep without dreaming, or men in a swoon, as perfect. . . . If the cessation of understanding stopped at this, it would be, not only a lack of perfection, but a loss of time which could be spent in profitable thoughts. . . . Those who follow this path endeavour and study to awaken a love for God. . . . (So) when the understanding has ceased its speculations, the will issues with great power, producing love. . . . See, then, how this nothingness of thought is more than it appears, and how it can in no wise be explained what it is, for God, to Whom it is directed, transcends explanation. But I tell thee that this thinking nothing is thinking all things, for we think without words upon Him Who is all things through His marvellous greatness ; and the least of the benefits of this nothingness of thought in recollected persons is a subtle and most simple attentiveness to God alone.³

¹ Bk. vi, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 384). Cf. Gen. xxviii, 10-22 ; xxxv, 1, 6-15.

² Bk. xxi, chap. 5 ("Of the objections which are made by the undevout to this exercise of recollection," N.B.A.E., pp. 566-8). "The unpractised in heavenly things are wont to make much question and to stir up doubts as to the meaning of this (practice of quiet), reducing it to a mere cessation from thought" (*ed. cit.*, p. 566).

³ *Ibid.* (p. 566).

No mystic writer, certainly, exposes himself less than Osuna to a charge of passivity.¹ He is full of energy and vitality in his teaching, intensely alive, and ever ready to counsel action. The body, according to him, is "born to work and to run in pursuit of Christ," the soul is a "bird most swift that is born to fly upwards to Divinity."² His whole conception of the life of recollection is of a "ceaseless struggle,"³ a career of unending activity. Only when the goal is reached, be it on earth or in Heaven, comes rest; and because, as we have seen, Osuna holds that true perfection is never attainable in this life, it follows that in his teaching even the proficient cannot win rest that is perfect, final and abiding. The soul "flies to God" in recollection on the wings of understanding and will: nay, by the most daring of metaphors imaginable, the soul is pictured as engaged in a "spiritual chase," in which God is the prey.⁴ We need not wonder that the aspirant is exhorted to urge and spur his soul, "to gird himself with strength and brace his arm."⁵ "El apretar el corazón es un abrazar a Dios," writes Osuna in one place,⁶ untranslatably. What short phrase could better describe an act of strenuous endeavour? Or what more vivid and stirring counsel was ever addressed to Christians of any age or creed than to "withdraw from all other love, be it good or bad, and as one that swims cleave a path till thou come to God"⁷?

Naturally, so ardent a spirit has much in sympathy with men whose vocation is not for contemplation, but who can only learn what they may of the mystic road while treading the lower road of a practical, everyday life.

¹ Yet H. C. Lea (*Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 223) stigmatizes book xxi, chap. 3 (extracts from which are quoted on pp. 105-6, 110, above) as "virtually quietism." It does not appear whether or no he read chap. 5 of the same book also, but it is clear that he entirely misreads Osuna, and can hardly have studied him with any care.

² Bk. xvii, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 520).

³ Bk. xx, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 547).

⁴ Bk. iv, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 357).

⁵ Bk. vi, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 385).

⁶ Bk. xxi, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 572).

⁷ Bk. xvi, chap. 9 (N.B.A.E., p. 510). See also the passage, translated in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 61-2, on the mystic's activity.

It is evident from the frequency with which he returns to the problem of their guidance that it was one which had often presented itself to him. He admits at once that the active life is a vocation apart from that of the contemplative, and that it is impossible to live both in equal measure.¹ But he is most insistent that those who of necessity meet in their daily occupations many hindrances to contemplation should not despair: "for the will, which is a powerful sovereign, can overcome them all."² So we find in his own work passages which may well encourage the busy worker—passages in the spirit of St. Teresa's famous saying: *Entre los pucheros anda el Señor*.

As to Christian men who live without mortal sin . . . and have to govern their estates and vassals . . . God will demand of them a stricter account according as they have the greater opportunities. . . . I have seen merchants, with many affairs and great possessions, who, living without mortal sin, took as their principal business the recollection of the soul, and progressed therein so greatly, that I marvelled, and praised the Lord from the depths of my being, for He is indeed no respecter of persons, but of hearts prepared for His grace.³

For actives as well as contemplatives he incorporates in his treatise practical counsel, most of which is applicable to both. He roams far afield—into discussions upon meals, dreams and the use of leisure—in his desire to train the aspirant in the technique of his "art" of contemplation. Mere inspiration is not enough: one must continually descend to detail.

And descend he does—so far that at times his directions may seem too elementary even for the "simple"—but we must remember that four centuries have passed since the book was written. The essential point

¹ Bk. xiv, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 474): "So I say then, that if he who is ever at work is ever at prayer, he prays not with such purity as he who is occupied in the high things of God alone. For the sense that is attentive to many matters is diminished in respect of each of them, so that he who devotes himself jointly to the active life and the contemplative, must needs take away from the one that which he gives to the other."

² Bk. xv, chap. 6 (N.B.A.E., p. 491).

³ Bk. xv, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 484).

to observe is its practical and common-sense outlook. Osuna yields nothing here to St. Ignatius : indeed, he is even more concerned with detail. It needed to be said at what hours the vigil is most apt to be broken by involuntary slumber—that the sleeper's pillow should be high—that reading may be resorted to, to drive away sleep—that when the contemplative is wearied with kneeling he may sit for a while, but with his face turned upward to the heavens.¹ The number of hours one may sleep, the quality and quantity permissible of food, the use of wine and water—even the washing of the mouth and the cleansing of the teeth : these are among the things which Osuna thought it advisable to include in his book on recollection.² Their inclusion is all in keeping with his active, energetic nature : he will not spare any detail or lose any opportunity of training the *whole* self for the exercises of mental prayer.

One passage at least in the *Third Alphabet* in which the author shows his characteristic attitude of activity reminds us also that in the emphasis which he lays upon love he is a true son of St. Francis. "The soul," it runs (in familiar enough language³), "takes and leads away (*arrebata*)⁴ its God with bonds of charity and love, for God cannot deny Himself to love, but at once is vanquished, as the heron when the falcon is loosed to catch it ; even so God, captured by love, is led away by the soul."⁵

The sixteenth Book of the *Alphabet*, which is devoted entirely to love, is the longest, and perhaps the finest of all, though it is by no means wholly mystical. We cannot write of it fully, but we can at least cull a few of the choicest flowers from a garden that is all fragrance :

Love is the richest treasure of the faithful soul, wherewith it may ransom itself from its evil converse of the past, and enrich

¹ Bk. xiii, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., pp. 469-70).

² Bk. xv, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., pp. 485-6).

³ For the figure is not uncommon among mystical writers. In this passage there is also a reference to Cant. viii, 2.

⁴ The Spanish word has rather the meaning of "carry off with violence" but it is used earlier in the passage to translate the verb (A.V. "lead") of Cant. viii, 2.

⁵ Bk. xii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 454).

itself in such wise to buy, not the Kingdom of Heaven alone, but Heaven's very King, Who gives Himself for love.¹

No arms are there so strong as the arms of love, and that not only to embrace and hold, but to conquer.²

True love spends all its strength upon the heart, as upon a dwelling wherein God shall abide. For God has His abode in impenetrable light, which none save he that loves can know.³

We can draw love from all things, provided only that the greater is the concord between the love of God and the love of them, the more we love them. Our aim must be to admit naught that hinders love, and to devote ourselves most of all to that which conduces most to the pure love of the Lord.⁴

Awaken within thyself the natural love which thou hast toward God, that afterward thou mayest love without labour, and thy soul go after Him with greater desire than a child goes after its mother.⁵

In the paradise of love there is the gift of subtilty, whereby it may penetrate without impediment of aught that may hinder ; for as the office of love is to unite lovers, at times it bears us to the Beloved, while at others it brings Him swiftly to us, using herein the gift of subtilty that it possesses.⁶

Such paragraphs, taken from their context, remind one strongly of the aphorisms of that other and earlier Franciscan, Ramón Lull. They might even be collected in a new "Book of the Lover and the Beloved." Like Lull, too, Osuna is full of love towards his fellows. He cannot, like a few souls in the life of prayer, shut his fellow-men wholly out of his thoughts. On the very first page of his book—in the dedicatory letter⁷—he exclaims : "No true love desires to keep the things that it loves without communicating them to others." And throughout the book itself he is continually insisting upon the good which the "recollected man" will endeavour

¹ Bk. xvi, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 492).

² Bk. xvi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 495).

³ Bk. xvi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 496).

⁴ Bk. xvi, chap. 6 (N.B.A.E., p. 502).

⁵ Bk. xvi, chap. 9 (N.B.A.E., p. 509).

⁶ Bk. xvi, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., p. 496).

⁷ N.B.A.E., p. 319.

to do to his fellows. Three short and very dissimilar quotations must serve to represent a host of others :

The fifth favour for which thou must thank God is that He has given thee grace that thou mayest convert others to Him, or, to speak more exactly, that He by means of thee may convert others. . . . For our Lord God is pleased to use such courtesy (*cortesía*) that to the just He assigns the conversion of sinners which He Himself verily works.¹

So notable, excellent and divine is this mystery of recollection, that it serves every good purpose and is profitable to all : there is naught that from its warmth can be hidden, so that it is as a sun which gives light to all, and is needful for the generation of all good things.²

Let us make all others masters, instructing them in the art of recollection, if so be we have learned it, and loving with an especial love those whom we have instructed.³

All these precepts may be summarized in one of Fray Francisco's most Scriptural passages, where he sums up the two great Christian precepts of love and exhorts his readers to practise them :

Let us, then, be grounded, my brethren, in love ; let us be rooted therein : rooted after the manner of trees, and grounded like those that are firmly set : grounded in the love of God which makes us the mansion of God and the temple wherein He dwells, and rooted in the love of our neighbour, which makes us fruitful trees that give leaves which protect and fruit which nourishes.⁴

A few of the most striking characteristics of this virile yet restful book we have traced in the foregoing pages. We must forbear to cite a long introductory passage, comprising practically the whole of the Prologue, in which, it will be found, each one of them is foreshadowed ; but we cannot pass over the eloquent conclusion of the treatise, which indicates, in an equally striking way, its nature and spirit :

¹ Bk. ii, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 344).

² Bk. xv, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 482).

³ Bk. viii, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 400).

⁴ Bk. xvi, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 494). Cf. Eph. iii, 17.

If by means of love thou canst not persevere, then constrain thyself by force with holy zeal to enter by this narrow door of recollection, for to him that has boldness to persevere God gives the grace of power. I counsel thee to put far away from thee the things that hinder thee, that thou mayest persevere with the greater tranquillity. Be not less careful about prayer than about sleep : if ere thou sleepest thou dost cause all business and noise to cease, enclose thyself, remain alone, and put away the cares of this world, then must thou do the same ere thou prayest, turning thyself wholly to things of the spirit. Reflect that God created thee for naught else than to pray, nor does He ask of thee aught but to pray to Him in spirit and in truth, for so there will be quickened within thee the care of fulfilling thy vocation and perfecting thyself therein. Wake thou often and make glad thy heart, attracting it with spiritual delights that it may ever pray to the Lord, for the waggon that is oiled lasts longer than that which is dry. And think upon the reward and the glory of them that persevere, that so thou mayest fall to loving this virtue of perseverance. Consider likewise how it is in thy power to forsake that which thou hast begun, which if thou didst perchance thou wouldst never return to it : remember that the bird untamed, in one day's freedom from its cage, will lose all the gentleness that it had learned, but that if thou make it to persevere for a space, though thou mayest afterwards loose it, it goes not away. The which will likewise be true of thy heart in recollection, if at the beginning thou dost give thyself to it continually ; and that same exercise will make thee to turn many times within thyself, if now thou dost go about it solicitously and perseveringly. For love, when once it is kindled, never rests, nor ceases to spur on and afflict (*aquejar*) the heart, until it be united without intermediary soever with that which it wholly loves—namely, God, to Whom be honour and glory eternally throughout all the ages. Amen.¹

VII

The style of the *Third Alphabet* has precisely the characteristics of the book itself. Without being in its nature obscure, it is made intricate through its combination of abundance and disorder. No sentence, however long it may be, but is easy to follow ; yet no chapter, but perplexes the reader at some point by a sudden and unexpected confusedness. “ It is not a fountain, nor a river,

¹ Bk. xxiii, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 587).

but a cataract of thoughts—of paroxysms of the soul—that fight their way from his pen, charging each other headlong, and invading the reader's mind by very force."¹ Thus his latest editor, and thus the impression which the *Alphabet* makes upon any critic. Even among Spanish authors of that age, who were all full of eloquence, Francisco de Osuna is one of the most copious to be found.

A mere glance at his book will show his wide acquaintance with Holy Scripture, with the Fathers, and with a few of his more recent predecessors in mystical literature. A complete list of the authorities whom he cites would be formidable: it would include—to take the most noteworthy only—SS. Augustine and Bernard (to both of whom he is specially indebted), SS. Cyprian, Gregory, Chrysostom, Jerome, Dominic, Ambrose, Anselm and Francis. If he refers to the last of these less than might be expected of a Franciscan,² the cause may partly be in the wealth of erudition at his command.³

Something must be said in particular of the use which Fray Francisco makes of Gerson.

The most Christian Gerson, no less devout than learned, that he might bring to the notice of all the recollected way of prayer, wrote in his vulgar tongue a book called the *Mount of Contemplation*, and thought good to address it to one of his sisters, so that none should think that his intent was to speak to religious persons only, but rather that he wished also to see seculars ascend the mount of contemplation.⁴

Perhaps too much stress must not be laid upon the frequent repetition, in the *Alphabet*, of the words "as Gerson says," for as often as not his authority is cited in illustration of obvious truths,⁵ not always concerned with the mystic way at all, or of passages from Scripture and

¹ Miguel Mir in N.B.A.E., p. xxix.

² E.g. N.B.A.E., pp. 341, 354, 371, 463 ff.

³ Only, however, partly, for see pp. 392-4, below.

⁴ Bk. viii, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 402).

⁵ E.g. N.B.A.E., pp. 452, 456, 459, 525, 558, 575, 577. For other references to Gerson, see N.B.A.E., pp. 322, 369, 378, 416, 538, 540-1, 547, 548, 550, 566, 567, 568, 578 ff.

from the Fathers which he has expounded.¹ At other times, however, more valuable passages are cited, and it will be found that these consist generally of discussions upon the temptations which beset the mystic² or eulogies of the life of recollection.³ He is also cited continually in the chapters dealing with humility and its place in the Christian life. We may quote a typical passage :

Even as Gerson says : All inward warnings, all vehement instincts, all revelations, all miracles, all ecstatic love, all contemplation, all rapture, and finally all our workings, whether within or without, if they are preceded, accompanied and followed by humility, if they are mingled with naught which destroys them—believe me that all these things bear the mark that they are of God, or of His good angel, and thou art not thereby deceived.⁴

In connexion with Osuna's authorities, it is interesting to note that Luis de León, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, and defending the doctrines taught by St. Teresa, declares Osuna to be in the direct line of the great mediæval mystics, mentioning the "third part of the *Alphabets*, as they are called," specifically, and quoting St. Bonaventura, Richard of St. Victor and Gerson as his precursors.⁵

But it must not for a moment be supposed that the *Alphabet* is either unpractical or purely erudite. "I knew," says its author, "a great master in sacred Theology, no less great in humility than in learning, who, speaking of recollection with a man most practised therein, though he was but simple . . . exclaimed : 'You know better of this than I, for you know the savour

¹ See, e.g., bk. xxi, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 566) : "If thou comprehendest not St. Dionysius, yet thou needest not to leave the matter uncomprehended, for Gerson is here, and other holy doctors who have comprehended it." And bk. xxi, chap. 6 (N.B.A.E., p. 569) : "At times comes to pass that which Gerson describes, in conformity with St. Dionysius, namely, that the soul is united in a manner ineffable and unknowable with that which can neither be described nor known." Cf. G. Cunninghame Graham : *Santa Teresa, ed. cit.*, p. 40. This statement of hers, however, is not borne out by my reading.

² E.g. N.B.A.E., pp. 550, 567, 578-9.

³ E.g. N.B.A.E., pp. 378, 401, 547, 568, 569.

⁴ Bk. xix, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 538). Cf. also following pages.

⁵ *Obras de Fray Luis de León* (Madrid, 1806), vol. v, p. 356

thereof, while I speak only as I have found it written.'"¹ Osuna writes much of what he has found written, but he never forgets the more excellent way of experience. That there is a firm foundation of experience in the *Alphabet* the preceding sections bear witness, no less than the homely language of many passages which might be added to those already quoted.

"I set this down here because I knew a person who did it thus and was greatly benefited thereby."² With these or similar words Osuna drives home more than one of the counsels which he gives ; they might well serve also to introduce the many personal reminiscences with which his work is studded. These take the form of the anecdotes or *ejemplos* common in Spanish sermons, so that we are reminded once more of the pulpit. Somewhat commonplace, and not always worthy to be preserved for their own merit, they form nevertheless the best illustration of the true originality of the *Alphabet*, namely the use in it of the writer's experience :

I knew two holy men much given to recollection, above whose heads, even in this life, were seen the crowns which now they wear in Heaven. It was after this manner : the one, going forth in a procession, bore a lofty cross, above which was seen an angel bearing a crown in his hand. And being asked in the spirit for whom was so wondrous a diadem, the angel made answer that it was for him that bore the cross ; giving it to be understood that all who bear the spiritual cross of the Lord, which is recollection—wherein as with three nails our three powers³ are fixed securely upon God—will receive the crown through the merits of Him Who on the Cross is crowned with thorns.

The other saint, being near to death, lamented that he could in no wise recollect his soul, which thing gave him greater pain than his infirmity. And on the day of his death, before he died, there was seen above him a most glorious crown, which marvellously adorned his venerable head, and caused his face to glow with its beauty. And he that saw this related it to the honour of God and of His servant who now was dead ; and he said that he saw it with the eyes of the soul, not using then his bodily eyes, which

¹ Bk. viii, chap. 6 (N.B.A.E., p. 412).

² Bk. viii, chap. 8 (N.B.A.E., p. 416).

³ *I.e.* the three faculties (*potencias*) of the soul.

oftentimes he had bathed in tears, and in such tears as sufficed to enlighten the eyes of his soul wherewith he saw the grace of his fellow.¹

And that thou mayest believe what I tell thee, I testify to thee that I knew a youth who in this Way of Recollection was desirous of following the counsels of a devout and aged man in so far as he was able, and daily he asked him of things which he newly found in this Way. And at the end of a year there was scarcely any thing which the aged man had received of the Lord, and of which the youth had not some inward experience, so that he became almost a model of his preceptor.²

Such constant appeals to experience would be expected of a writer who, as we have seen, was by nature pre-eminently practical, and was also, by nature as well as by vocation, a preacher.

Like most mystical writers, Osuna is lavish in the use of imagery, but not always for the same reasons as they. A writer like St. John of the Cross finds himself constrained to write in metaphor, by reason of the sublimity of the experiences which he attempts to describe. There is no way to explain what is meant by the Spiritual Marriage save the use of analogies, if necessarily weak ones, taken from the realm of human experience. And feeling the insufficiency of every such analogy, the mystic spends himself, adding image to image, in the attempt to present a combination of pictures which may give some faint idea of the truth.

Osuna's metaphors are not as a rule of this description: when for this reason he requires a figure of speech, he takes it, ready-made, from one of his many predecessors. They are rather the figures of the preacher, presented to an audience of the unlearned. Commonplace such figures *may* be—that matters little in preaching, if they are apt in themselves, and are aptly introduced. Simple they *must* be, to come within the limited experiences of a motley group of hearers such as even nowadays fills the

¹ Bk. x, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., p. 440).

² Bk. viii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 408). Another and less happily phrased illustration will be found on p. 427 (bk. ix, chap. 6).

centre of a small Spanish church or of a great Cathedral. They may well be developed, and often are, to the point of excess, but the application of each must follow it quickly and must never be developed with subtlety ; even an unreality which becomes patent with the application is better in a popular preacher than subtlety, for in the former case the lesson may remain if the image is forgotten, whereas in the latter both lesson and figure are lost in the confusion of the hearer's mind.

All this Francisco de Osuna, who was clearly as skilled in preaching as in direction, evidently knew. His book is addressed to an audience—as he often reminds us—of simple as well as learned. His figures bear this out. They have none of the unexpected allusiveness and the flashes of homely genius which delight the reader of St. Teresa, none of the sustained grandeur and eloquence of St. John of the Cross. They resemble rather the figures of Fray Luis de Granada—himself essentially a preacher—in at least one point—the care with which many of them are worked up and developed descriptively into long paragraphs.

The reader may often imagine himself in a church as he listens to the simple yet skilful illustrations of this Franciscan friar, again and again taken bodily from Scripture,¹ but no less frequently from the hearer's own experience :

If a man had two tongues, there is no doubt but that one would be an impediment to the other, and they would hinder each other from speaking ; even so are those that have two hearts impeded in their works. . . . And if a man had two heads and desired to become a Christian, it would have to be seen, before he were baptized, if there were diverse wills within him. . . .²

When princes and great kings come to lodge in some house, the whole house is cleared, and only the empty shell remains, for the king carries with him all that is needful for his service and accommodation. He desires only that the house be cleansed of all impurity, and even so this chapter tells that thou must cleanse thy heart of all vice.³

¹ *E.g.* N.B.A.E., pp. 373, 403, 415. Other examples abound.

² Bk. iv, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., p. 356).

³ Bk. iv, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 364).

So long as a glass is in the hand of one that trembles, it cannot be full without its contents being spilled ; just so our heart, so long as it is held by a thought that trembles and is not at rest, may not be wholly filled by the Lord.¹

None would deny the effectiveness of even the crudest of figures like these with an audience of simple folk, and the most advanced of mystics, being the most childlike of all, may derive equal profit from them. Osuna is no less successful in his use of the conventional figures of the mystic : life pictured as a sea,² the contemplative as an eagle,³ the soul as a garden,⁴ the joys of union as the shining of the sun,⁵ and the like. Whether worked out fully⁶ or treated allusively, however, such images are less worthy of quotation than the very rare examples of a more original genius, such as the metaphor of the snow in Book XVII.

The other cause for the which thou must take thought in following Christ is that the snow has fallen upon His traces. So cold is charity to-day that thou canst not say but that it has snowed, and the snow has covered the path to Heaven which was made by Christ. Yet all the malice of the world cannot wholly obscure the way of Christ, though more thought concerning it is needful now than ever was aforetime, ere the path had become so worn and the snow had fallen.⁷

¹ Bk. iv, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 364).

² E.g. N.B.A.E., pp. 368-9.

³ E.g. N.B.A.E., p. 400.

⁴ E.g. N.B.A.E., pp. 334, 369. The former of these passages (describing the soul under the figure of a garden) reminds us of St. Teresa's similar description in chap. xi of her *Life*. See pp. 153 ff., below.

⁵ See pp. 96-9, above.

⁶ See, e.g., N.B.A.E., pp. 379, 472, for normal examples ; pp. 360 ff., 368 ff. for examples over-elaborated to the point of becoming fantastic. Of the few passages which have become ludicrous through their affectation may be mentioned as an example that in book x, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 432), where the author describes the coming of the Beloved "by sea" : "And if we send Him the vessel of our heart over the sea of tears, made ready so that He may come therein, then is He with us if we cease not to strive that the water may rise and with it the vessel of the heart, that the vessel may never touch bottom but travel the more securely, etc., etc."

⁷ Bk. xvii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 516). Cf. bk. x, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., p. 433) : "It is needful first to cleanse the eyes of the soul with tears, which are as the waters of snow which come down from the heights."

More rarely still, like certain of the Fathers whom he knew so well, Fray Francisco breaks out into a torrent of metaphor,¹ which yet again, both by the oratorical effectiveness of its eloquence, and by the absence of originality and subtlety in its thought, reminds us forcibly of the popular sermon :

Thy heart is the lamp of the prudent virgin—which is thy soul—wherein, when she goeth out to meet the Bridegroom, she must bear the oil of mercy and the light of faith ; it is a meagre pittance (*ración*) wherewith God is well content, like unto the noble hawk (*gavilán*) that is satisfied with the heart ; it is the Divine Consistory, where He telleth His secrets ; it is the furnace whither the angel of mighty counsel descendeth to protect from the fire those that walk therein² ; it is the little bed of the true Eliseus³ ; it is a golden vessel filled with the manna of celestial grace, laid up in the ark of thy breast ; it is the censer whereof God Himself taketh perfume ; the narrow manger-crib wherein the child Jesus is born ; His own bed of flowers ; the garden of the King Ahasuerus, wherein with his own hands he grafts divers virtues⁴ ; it is the bow of the friendship of God, set in the clouds of tears that He may be mindful of His love for us ; the small citadel of God made joyful with the impulse of grace ; the book of life whereby thou wilt be judged ; the holy sepulchre of the body of Christ ; the altar whereon we offer to Christ our desires ; the paradise wherein God has communion and delight with His friends ; a golden brazier in the temple of God ; a clean and spacious chamber prepared for the reception of His holy gifts (*mercedes*), if it be emptied and cleansed, as it ought to be, and guarded with all diligence.⁵

Each similitude, in so rich a collection as this, has a suggestiveness and a power of its own. And we may well wish that Osuna had given us many more, for the wayfaring man, at least, will find him most fruitful for devotion in them, and nearer than in any other place to his heart.

¹ Another interesting example is in a series of similes describing "recollec-tion" under different figures in turn. (Bk. x, chap. 6, N.B.A.E., pp. 437-8.)

² The reference is to the Vulgate of Isa. ix, 6, and to the story of the Three Children (*cf.* Dan. iii, 25).

³ 2 Kings, iv, 10.

⁴ Esther, i, 5 ; vii, 7.

⁵ Bk. iv, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., p. 366).

CHAPTER IV

ST. TERESA ¹

¹ References to the works of St. Teresa are made, except where otherwise stated, to the edition *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, editadas y anotadas por el P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D. (Burgos, 1915 ff.), abbreviated "Obras." The final volumes of this edition have appeared as the present book is passing through the press. For brevity the main word only in the title of each work referred to is given. Thus: *Vida* (for *Libro de su Vida*), *Camino* (for *Camino de Perfección*).

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I

SINCE Richard Crashaw wrote the *Flaming Heart* and his noble "Hymn to the name and honour of the admirable Saint Teresa," English readers have learned gladly from the life of that saint, even when they have been unable, or unwilling, to learn from her expositions of mystical theology.

Let me so read thy life, that I
Unto all life of mine may die,

prayed Crashaw,¹ as he stood lost in admiration before the personality of the Carmelite foundress :

A woman for angelical height of speculation, for masculine courage of performance, more than a woman. Who yet a child, outran maturity, and durst plot a martyrdom.²

Undoubtedly readers of the *Way of Perfection* and the *Mansions* will find in the life of St. Teresa an inspiration no less great. Hence, though it is none of the purpose of this book to retell stories which have often been related by others, some well-known features of her biography must be recalled. That she was the daughter of a great house, and the sister of six soldier-brothers ; that she lost her mother as a child, and sought consolation in the tender motherhood of Our Lady³ ; that she read the lives of the saints from her earliest years,⁴ and later

¹ " *The Flaming Heart.*"

² "A Hymn to the name and honour of the admirable Saint Teresa" (sub-title).

³ "I remember that, when my mother died, I was twelve years old, or rather less : when I began to realise what I had lost, I went, full of grief, to an image of Our Lady, and begged her with many tears to be a mother to me. I think that, although I did this in simplicity of mind, it has been of avail to me, for I have found the Virgin, by experience, to be my Sovereign indeed whenever I have commended myself to her" (*Vida*, chap. i, *Obras*, vol. i, p. 7).

⁴ *Vida*, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. .p. 6). See the passage quoted in the next paragraph.

devoured books of chivalry,¹ even going so far as to try to write one ; that her favourite games in childhood were the building of convents and of hermitages² ; all these traits in the story of her youth help us to understand her better. But most significant of all is her adventure at the age of seven, when, with her brother, she left her home in Avila "for ever and ever"² in search of martyrdom at the hands of the terrible Moors.³ Let us have the story, as far as she told it, in her own naïve words :

We were three sisters and nine brothers : all of us, by God's grace, like our parents in virtue, I myself excepted, though I was my father's favourite, and before I began to offend God I think I had some reason to be ; for I grieve, when I remember the good inclinations which the Lord had given me, and how badly I made use of them. And my brothers and sisters in no way hindered me from serving God.

One favourite brother I had, of about my own age—though I loved them all dearly and they me. We used to read together the Lives of the Saints, and as I read of the martyrdoms of the Saints for God's sake it came to me that they bought their fruition of God very cheaply. And I wished very much that I might die

¹ *Vida*, chap. ii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 10). This fondness for books of chivalry St. Teresa inherited from her mother. "I was so entirely absorbed by them," she adds, "that without a new book I could never be happy." On the possible influence of this reading upon her, see Gaston Etchegoyen, *L'Amour Divin*, etc. (Bordeaux, Paris, 1923), pp. 44-6.

² "When I saw the impossibility of going where I should be put to death for the faith of God, we set about becoming hermits, and in a garden which we had at home we contrived to build hermitages as best we could by piling up small stones which soon fell down ; and so we found no way of satisfying our wishes. It fills me with devotion even now to think how early God gave me what I forfeited by my own fault. I gave alms as I could—and that was but little. I contrived to be alone in order to perform my devotions, which were long, and especially the Rosary, to which my mother was very much devoted, and taught us to be so too. When I played with other little girls I loved to build convents and play at being nuns ; and I think I wanted to be one, though less so than the other things I have mentioned" (*Vida*, chap. i, *Obras*, vol. i, p. 7).

³ Farewell, then, all the world ! Adieu.

Teresa is no more for you.

Farewell, all pleasures, sports and joys

(Never till now esteemed toys).

Farewell whatever dear may be,

Mother's arms or Father's knee.

Farewell house, and farewell home !

She's for the Moors, and Martyrdom.

(Crashaw, "A Hymn to . . . Saint Teresa.")

thus, not for any love that I bore Him, but to enjoy without delay the great riches in Heaven which I read of. With this brother I used to discuss how it might be accomplished. We decided to go to the country of the Moors, begging our way "for the love of God," and to be beheaded there. And I think the Lord had given us courage enough even at so tender an age, if we had seen any way of accomplishing this. Only the greatest obstacle seemed to us to be our parents. It impressed us greatly to read that glory and the pains of hell were for ever. Again and again we talked of this, and we liked to repeat many times "for ever—ever—ever." It pleased the Lord that by these many repetitions the way of truth should be impressed on my mind in childhood.¹

Ribera, St. Teresa's sixteenth-century biographer, relates the sequel : the children had hardly crossed the river which runs through Avila when they were met by an uncle who led them back to their mother.² And Teresita's worst forebodings were justified !

It was not long before she was sent to a convent for some schooling,³ and her spiritual ambitions were turned in another direction ; later, she stayed with a religiously minded uncle who afterwards became a monk⁴ ; before very long she desired, then decided, to embrace the life of religion. Opposition at home only confirmed her decision⁵ : for the second time she embarked upon a spiritual pilgrimage, and this time upon a successful one. On the 2nd of November, 1535,⁶ very early in the

¹ *Vida*, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 6-7).

² " And, leaving by the gate of Adaja—which is the name of the river that runs through Avila—they went on over the bridge, until they were met by an uncle who took them back home to their mother, greatly to her relief, for she had been having them searched for everywhere with great anxiety, fearing that they had fallen into a well (*noria de casa*) and been drowned " (Ribera, *Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, I, iv).

³ *Vida*, chap. ii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 13).

⁴ *Vida*, chap. iii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 76).

⁵ *Vida*, chap. iii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 18).

⁶ So Ribera, *op. cit.*, I, vi, who is very precise : " Very early one morning, on the second of November, the Day of the Commemoration of All Souls, in the year 1535, when she was twenty years and seven months of age, without telling anyone, save Antonio de Ahumada, her brother, who accompanied her, she left her father's house, and went to the Incarnation, an important convent in Avila, to become a nun of the order of Our Lady of Carmel." Others, however, make the year 1533, though there is no dispute as to the day. Teresa herself does not specify the date, and the chronological references in her *Life* are by no means always exact.

morning, she left home for the Carmelite Convent of the Incarnation at Avila.

Few girls so young would not have felt the pangs of parting from home, and Teresa was no exception. "I remember quite well," she says, "my feelings when I left my father's house : I do not think they will be more painful when I die, for it seemed as though every bone in my body were being wrenched asunder. And as there was in me no love of God to take from me the love of father and kindred, I was so torn within myself that if the Lord had not helped me my determination would not have sufficed to urge me forward. But in this He gave me courage to fight against myself, so that I achieved my purpose."¹

For nearly thirty years Teresa lived as a simple and all but unknown sister in the Convent of the Incarnation before the call came to her to work outside it. She suffered from continual ill-health. The privations of convent life told on her delicate constitution while she was still but a girl. On one occasion, at the age of twenty-one, after months of intermittent illness, she fell into a kind of trance which lasted for four days, so that she was thought to be dead. When she recovered, she was unable to move and suffered so acutely that she could not bear to be touched. For months she made hardly any progress ; it was three years before she could live the same active life as of old.² And in the long period of activity—some forty years—which lay between this early illness and those three sad years of suffering which ended in death, we must never forget that it was generally an enfeebled woman who was doing the work of a company of men. "I know someone," she writes in 1577 (and there is no kind of doubt that it was herself) "who, since the Lord began to grant her the favour which I have mentioned, forty years since, cannot truthfully say that she has been a day without pains and other manners of suffering : I speak of bodily ill-health, not to mention

¹ *Vida*, chap. iv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 19-20). Cf. Osuna's counsels, p. 124, above.

² *Vida*, chap. vi (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 35-6).

other heavy trials." Testimony to this statement, in all her writings, abounds.¹

From spiritual sicknesses, too, she suffered ; and a volume might be written upon the interior history of St. Teresa, up to the time when she left the Incarnation. The " state of purification, the war between the real and the superficial self, extended over a long term of years. It ran side by side with the state of Illumination, co-existing with a fully developed contemplative life ; and was only brought to an end by that " Second Conversion " which at last . . . set her firmly and for ever on the Unitive Way." ²

Perhaps too much stress has been laid upon the crisis which is generally designated by this not very happy term of " Conversion," and which, when Teresa was over forty,³ marked for her the farthest limit of the Purgative Way. She was entering the oratory one day when an image of the wounded Christ brought to her mind with unwonted vividness a realization of the meaning of the Crucifixion, and she " fell on her knees before it, shedding a flood of tears and beseeching Him to strengthen her once and for all, that she might never offend Him more."⁴

" From that time forward," she says, " I improved

¹ See, for example, the realistic description which she gives, in *Vida*, chap. vii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 47), of the morning sickness from which she suffered for no less than twenty years. " It seems to me," she adds, " that I am hardly ever without great pain, and sometimes gravely ill, especially with the heart." This was in 1562. Cf. also *Vida*, chap. xiii ; *Relaciones*, iii ; *Camino de Perfección*, chaps. x, xi, which illustrate very strikingly her cheerfulness and fortitude in illness ; *Moradas*, Prólogo ; iv, chap. 1 ; v, chap. 4, and very many passages from the letters, some of which are quoted below.

² Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, ed. cit., p. 257. The author puts forward this interpretation of St. Teresa's early mystical life with some diffidence, but I have no doubt that she is right. " The almost virile strength of Teresa's character," she adds, " which afterwards contributed to the greatness of her achievement in the unitive state, opposed itself to the invading transcendental consciousness, disputed every inch of territory, resisted every demand made upon it by the growing spiritual self. Bit by bit it was conquered, the sphere of her deeper life enlarged ; until the moment came in which she surrendered, once for all, to her true destiny " (*op. cit.*, pp. 257-8). This is precisely the testimony of St. Teresa's own autobiography.

³ She does not herself give the date, but the year 1555 is, on various grounds, by general consent, assigned to it.

⁴ *Vida*, chap. ix (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 63).

greatly.”¹ The study of St. Augustine’s *Confessions* continued the good work which a seemingly chance incident had begun. Before this experience she had practised spiritual exercises,² enjoyed certain favours and progressed some degrees up the road to Carmel. Some twenty years before, for example, soon after her first reading of Osuna’s *Alphabet*,³ she had written in her *Life* of having experienced the Prayer of Quiet, though only for “a brief time.”⁴ But now she goes from strength to strength. She writes with a consciousness of progress and a confidence which themselves are striking. She no longer desires even the most innocent occupation to take the place of long and uninterrupted communion with God. The Prayer of Quiet becomes an experience of the commonest kind, and the Prayer of Union is no longer a rare and fleeting gift, but one more usual and of some duration.⁵ Indeed, St. Teresa’s spiritual life soon approximates to that described in the similitude of the Waters—an account written some seven years after the “conversion”—which we shall shortly examine.

To one so prepared and preparing herself for whatever God should please to send her came at length the call to her life’s work—the reform of the Order of Carmel.

¹ *Vida*, chap. ix (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 65).

² Including, perhaps—indeed, probably, since Ribera affirms it—the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. For a discussion of this question, see Henri Delacroix, *Etudes d’histoire et de psychologie du mysticisme* (Paris, 1908), p. 78; Maxime de Montmorand, *Psychologie des mystiques catholiques orthodoxes* (Paris, 1920), p. 90; Gaston Etchegoyen, *L’Amour Divin* (Bordeaux, Paris, 1923), pp. 86–8, and cf. pp. 156 ff., 166; Jean Baruzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix*, etc. (Paris, 1924), pp. 90–91; and, on the other side, Eberhard Gothein, *Ignatius von Loyola*, etc. (Halle, 1895), pp. 236–7; Miguel Mir, *Santa Teresa de Jesús*, etc., *passim*. Fr. Poulain (*Graces of Interior Prayer*, p. 302) assumes that she practised the Exercises, her first confessors being Jesuits.

³ See p. 80, above.

⁴ “The Lord granted me the Prayer of Quiet and at times I even attained to union, though I understood not the nature of either nor their exceeding price. . . . Such union lasted, it is true, but a brief time—I know not if it was with me for the space of an Ave Maria—but it had a great effect upon me” (*Vida*, chap. iv; *Obras*, vol. i, p. 23).

⁵ “His Majesty began to give me very commonly the Prayer of Quiet, and often that of Union, which lasted for a long time” (*Vida*, chap. xxiii; *Obras*, vol. i, p. 175).

This is not the place to write at length of the venerable history of that Order. Suffice it to say, that, while its origin is lost in the obscurity of tradition, its primitive rule dates from the twelfth century, when the friars still "dwelt by the well of Elias" near Mount Carmel itself. Early in the thirteenth century, however, they migrated to Europe, became no longer hermits but mendicants, and obtained from several successive popes a series of mitigations of their rule, designed to adapt it to European conditions and the intensely active life which the Order was leading.

It was under the mitigated rule, then, that Teresa was living in the Incarnation. The Order no longer fasted, as formerly, from Holy Cross Day until Easter in every year ; perpetual solitude was no longer enjoined ; visitors to the convents were allowed, and the nuns could even go out into the town. For many years Teresa had longed for a stricter way of living : little by little came the impulse to follow the original rule ; and finally a chance conversation—let us rather say a call from Heaven—inspired her to found a convent of the reform.

Moral and financial support were both forthcoming : opposition, scorn and gossip were equally so. Some thought she was mad, and not a few openly declared it. Even her Bishop, though he was wise enough to say nothing, considered the idea mere folly. It was only after many vicissitudes that a convent of the reformed (or Discalced) Carmelite nuns was established in Avila, with the Bishop's authority, in 1562. The house, dedicated to St. Joseph, was consecrated on the Feast of St. Bartholomew. It was a poor enough place, and there were but four novices to take the habit at the foundation, but St. Teresa, says her biographer, cared less for its material than its spiritual promise, and she saw in those four poor orphan girls the living stones which were to be the basis of the restoration of her Order.¹ It was to

¹ Ribera, *op. cit.*, I, xvii: "And although, while this was being done, she went about the work with ample thought to the material building of the house, she gave far more care to the search for living stones which should be a fitting foundation for the spiritual edifice which she proposed to set up."

her, she would say, as if she were walking in glory to think that she had fulfilled our Lord's command, and that His Majesty had taken her, a woman so poor and mean, to be His instrument in so great a work.

With the establishment of this Reformed House of San José begins the history of St. Teresa's life as a foundress, which lasted for twenty years. For five years she remained at Avila—"the most peaceful years in my life," she wrote later, "the calm and repose of which my soul very often greatly misses."¹ Then she began to go up and down the country, founding convents of the Reform. Enlisting the services of the young friar John of St. Matthias (afterwards St. John of the Cross) and an older man, Antonio de Heredia, she established at Duruelo, near Avila, the first of the Reformed Foundations for men: we shall see in a later chapter how success attended these foundations also.

"Nothing is impossible if our Lord wills it" is the oft-repeated motto which spells this success.² The nuns of the Reform lived entirely upon alms; they never knew if there would be anything to live on at all. "As for dinner," ran their constitutions, "we cannot have a fixed hour, because that depends upon what our Lord gives. If we have anything to eat the meal shall be . . . at eleven."³

Again, "there was a well" (it is St. Teresa speaking) "in which the water, according to those who had tested it, was very bad, and it was so deep that it seemed impossible to work. I sent for workmen to make the attempt, but they only laughed at me for wanting to throw money away. I asked my sisters what they thought, and one of them said: 'Let them try. Our Lord must find someone to bring us water, and we shall have to feed him; so it will cost His Majesty less to give it us in the house, and He will not therefore fail to do so.' Looking at the problem with the great faith and deter-

¹ *Fundaciones*, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 7).

² E.g. *Fundaciones*, chap. ii (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 13): "It seemed a thing impossible; but since there is nothing impossible if our Lord wills it, His Majesty ordained that what had never before happened should come to pass now."

³ *Constituciones*, "De las Enfermas" (*Obras*, vol. vi, p. 12).

mination with which she spoke, I felt sure it would be so, and I went forward against the advice of a man who had experience of water and wells. And our Lord was pleased to grant us a good flow of water, quite sufficient for us, which they still have.”

“I do not relate this as a miracle,” she adds, “but to show the faith which these sisters had, for everything has happened just as I have told it.”¹ The story is repeated here for the same reason.

The *Book of the Foundations* gives some graphic accounts of the travelling experiences of St. Teresa and her companions, although she herself says : “I do not write in these *Foundations* of the many trials of our journeys—the bitter cold, the burning sun, the snow ; on one occasion it snowed continually the whole day long, at other times we lost our way, at others we suffered considerably from sickness and fever.”² From time to time, nevertheless, she gives some idea of what they suffered—in the long journey southwards, for example, to Seville : “We encountered the most terrible heat on the way. I tell you, my sisters, it was like going to Purgatory.” Teresa was taken ill, and they left their jolting, springless cart, to take refuge in a wretched *posada*, where their room had no window, and the bed was so bad, that ill as she was, she found it more comfortable to sleep on the floor. Two days or so before, they had narrowly escaped drowning when crossing the Guadalquivir. Now they were so badly lodged that they preferred to leave the miserable, unhealthy inn and take their chance in the scorching sun of an Andalusian June !³ And yet “I did not think to write of these things,” says St. Teresa, “for they are of little importance, and I could have said a great deal about the unlucky happenings of our journeys ; but I was importuned to write at some length of this.”⁴

The story of these years is so long and detailed that

¹ *Fundaciones*, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 9–10).

² *Fundaciones*, chap. xviii (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 145).

³ *Fundaciones*, chap. xxiv (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 205 ff.).

⁴ *Fundaciones*, chap. xxiv (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 210).

even an outline is beyond the limits of our space. Very prominent in it is the reform of the Convent of the Incarnation itself, whither St. Teresa went under obedience, as Prioress, meeting with opposition everywhere, but coming out triumphant, as indeed she was bound to do.¹ Another landmark was the foundation in 1574 of a convent at Segovia²; yet another, and a more important one, the penetration of the Reform to Andalucía,³ where the unfortunate but gifted Padre Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios enters the history of St. Teresa's life, and later, the life of St. John of the Cross. By this time the Reform had aroused influential opposition; war among the Carmelites followed, only to be ended, in 1580-1, by the division of the Order, the Discalced being allowed to choose their own superiors and form a distinct province.⁴ But ere this was accomplished, and Gracián had become the first Provincial, St. Teresa had been stricken by an attack of paralysis, and was to pass the rest of her life in almost continuous suffering. Yet she continued her journeys and foundations as best she could. Early in 1582 she set out to found a house at Burgos. A long and trying journey was followed by floods. Teresa, old and infirm and ill, was anxious to return to Avila, feeling that her end was near. But she got no farther than Alba de Tormes, where, on October 4, 1582, she died.

Even these few lines will give some idea of the activity and success of one who is pre-eminent, before everything, as a mystic. Those whose desire is to know her as a foundress must read her life more fully in other books than this. In her own person she founded thirty-two religious houses; beyond her highest dreams her faith was rewarded by the success of her reform, and, by the recognition which came to herself, her work was indelibly inscribed upon the roll of fame. Some part of her glory,

¹ Her allocution to the nuns is still extant, and is reproduced by Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa*, ed. cit., iii, 152-3.

² *Fundaciones*, chap. xxi (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 173-9).

³ *Fundaciones*, chaps. xxiii ff.

⁴ *Fundaciones*, chap. xxix (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 280-81), *Cartas*, *passim*. See also pp. 234-7, below.

indeed, had invested her before she died, and the complement of it won her posthumous honours of many kinds, which she would have been the last, in her humility, to expect. Only thirty-two years after her death she was beatified, to be canonised (with St. Isidro, St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Francis Xavier) in 1622.¹ Five years earlier, the Cortes would fain have added to these honours its supreme act of praise by making her Patroness of Spain,² had not the age-long devotion of the Spaniards to Santiago been too strong for them. The attempt was renewed, again fruitlessly, when nearly two centuries had passed, and it may yet be revived, for no saint has more closely retained her hold upon the Spanish people than this woman. Let us see if in her character can be discovered the reason.

Nowhere is the personality of St. Teresa more clearly outlined than in her own numerous letters—those letters so intimate and for the most part trivial, more likely to startle the reader by some chance burst of merriment than by any expression of profound thought, so rarely rising to the heights one might have expected in the letters of a Saint, yet bearing, each of them, the seal of Jesus. They tell us much of the author's life. They throw light on her relations with such dominating personalities as Padre Gracián and St. John of the Cross. But their greatest service is to show us St. Teresa herself—not a statue gilded with the false glory of tradition and legend, but a living, breathing woman with all her imperfections and crudenesses, with her wonderful grace of manner, her amazing efficiency and energy, and her ever-present common-sense and humour.³

As though a succession of dissolving views were

¹ Cf. *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 431-6.

² Cf. *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 437-63.

³ Such a comment as that of Huysmans' Durtal on even her mystical writings alone is to me quite incomprehensible. Even in her loftiest flights she is always so human and tender. And yet Durtal's comment is: "Elle m'épouvante, cette magnifique et terrible Sainte ; j'ai lu ses œuvres, eh bien, savez-vous, elle me fait l'effet d'un lys immaculé, mais d'un lys métallique, d'un lys forgé de fer" (*En Route*, 3rd edition, 1895, p. 107).

passing before us, we see the practical, busy foundress at work. Now she is at her table, "with letters and other affairs," as she puts it, "raining upon me,"¹ penning "seven or eight letters on business matters which could not be postponed"²; now writing a receipt for some corn, or fowls,³ or provisions for one of her foundations; now acknowledging gifts of butter, fish, meat, lemons, veils, orange-flower water, or some occasional dainty⁴; now directing that her doves should be "taken great care of during these winter months"⁵; now penning a warm letter of thanks for some much longed-for book. Or we find her sending some gift in return: "two pieces of damask and five of cloth of gold" from wealthy Toledo,⁶ or "two melons which I found—not as fine ones as I should like"⁷; sometimes (for often her material resources were few) a copy of some prayers or verses that she had written.⁸ Elsewhere she is negotiating over the price to be paid for a foundation-building⁹; acknowledging a sum of money lent her for her work¹⁰; begging from her sister a few coins, for the convent can only give her bread¹¹; suggesting some homely remedies to a sister prioress¹²; fearing lest her hero Gracián may fall off his little mule, enquiring after his feet, and discoursing

¹ *Cartas*, 400.

² *Cartas*, 10.

³ *Letters of St. Teresa*, ed. Benedictines of Stanbrook, vol. i, pp. 13, 91 (translated from the originals published by P. Grégoire de S. Joseph).

⁴ *Cartas*, 23, 41, 107, 158, 348.

⁵ This direction occurs in the Saint's earliest extant letter (Jan. 10, 1546), which was published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* in 1914 and translated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 373.

⁶ *Cartas*, 153, "Van siete piezas, dos de damasco verde, y cinco tela de oro." Fuente conjectures that the letter was written from Toledo, though exclaiming at St. Teresa's calling a place where such things could be found "tan ruin lugar."

⁷ *Cartas*, 156.

⁸ *Cartas*, 158.

⁹ *Cartas*, 92. Cf. 243.

¹⁰ *Cartas*, 277.

¹¹ *Cartas*, 33: "I shall need a few *reales*, for I can only get bread to eat from the convent. Try to send me them." This to her sister Juana (Feb. 4, 1572). To her niece, María Bautista, Prioress of Valladolid, she also writes (Sept. 11, 1574): "Is there anyone with you (*por allá*) who will lend me a few *reales*? I do not want them as a gift, but only till I am paid some part of what my brother sent me, which they say are already to hand. I have not a farthing (*no llevo blanca*) now, and I could not go thus to the Incarnation. There is nothing to be had here, as the convent must be furnished, so get me something, whether little or much (*Cartas*, 62).

¹² *Cartas*, 309, 326, 343, 381, 385.

on the subject of chilblains¹; or advising that brother Lorenzo, who was so dear to her, about the care of his children, and, still more frequently, upon his devotions, and the religious life of his children and himself. The *Letters* are full of such counsel to Lorenzo, so that it is both needless and impossible to cite examples; in the later letters, too, are many passages showing St. Teresa's tender motherly solicitude for that daughter of his, Teresita, who took the veil at an early age, and became her aunt's peculiar care.

Thus much from the writing-table; but we are able to go out with her on her journeys also. Both in the *Letters* and the *Foundations*, we see her on those tours which are inseparably associated with her name by her daughters in religion, but which she describes as "one of the things which weary me in this life, and my greatest labour."² For we must not forget that the "fleas, ghosts and bad roads" of which she writes were ever with a sixteenth-century traveller. St. Teresa's life was not all "inspecting the convent and thanking the Lord."³ She had often, as we have seen, to struggle on under the most trying conditions, battling with pain, far from doctors, far even from the roughest nurses and the crudest of comforts.⁴ All this is faithfully reflected in the *Letters*. Now she would be forced to change her plans by the well-nigh unendurable cold. Now she would find herself prostrated by the intolerable summer heat. "How much pleasanter would this summer have been were I still with you," she sighs to the prioress at Medina, "instead of here in the furnace of Seville!"⁵ And while she is writing from the south, what human touches we find in her letters as she confides to her friends a true northerner's dislike of the Andalucians and all their ways! "I much prefer the people of your country," she writes from Seville to Diego Ortiz of Toledo, "for I do not get on well with the people here."⁶

¹ *Cartas*, 333, 394.

² *Cartas*, 70.

³ *Cartas*, 13.

⁴ E.g. *Cartas*, 6.

⁵ *Cartas*, 72. Cf. also the conclusion of No. 79, to Father Gracián.

⁶ *Cartas*, 86.

To the General of her Order : " I am still here, . . . but I cannot get on with the Andalucians." ¹ And to her niece at Valladolid : " The injustice that one finds in these parts, the untruthfulness, the duplicity ! They deserve all the evil reputation they have, I assure you." ² And the next month : " Oh, the lies that are told here ! It is astounding ! " ³

Her ill-health is only too frequent a topic : that broken arm, so clumsily set that it has to be broken again ⁴ ; the fever, the ague, the quinsy, the toothache, the abscesses and tumours, pains in back and head, the strange noises in the head to which she frequently refers in her other writings. ⁵ " Crosses and more crosses ! " she sighs as she writes. ⁶ " I often think how much better it would be for me to remain quietly as I am with no order from the General to make foundations." And then, immediately recollecting herself : " Yet, when I see how God is served in our convents, all else seems of little consequence. May His Majesty lead me to do His will." ⁷

Most pathetic of all are the letters written during the last two years of her life, when her health was steadily getting worse. " Since Maundy Thursday," she says in 1580, ⁸ " I have had the worst attacks of paralysis and the heart that I have ever suffered." For a month she has fever. ⁹ Soon after she is ill again with an epidemic, and is asking why she is allowed to live : " I know not why God keeps me in this world " : " I think our Lord does not wish me to be long without suffering." ¹⁰ Even in October this fever has only just gone, ¹¹ and she has barely the strength to dictate her letter. In January she is travelling again, but her attacks are " many and severe." ¹² All that summer, though better, she is " seldom without

¹ *Cartas*, 91.

² *Cartas*, 93.

³ *Cartas*, 94. Cf. also *Fundaciones*, chap. xxv, and p. 238, below.

⁴ *Cartas*, 229.

⁵ E.g. *Cartas*, 33, 34, 183, 192, 223, 319, 321. Other references abound, but the above letters are particularly concerned with St. Teresa's health.

⁶ *Cartas*, 236.

⁷ *Cartas*, 70.

⁸ *Cartas*, 314.

⁹ *Cartas*, 320, 321.

¹⁰ *Cartas*, 326, 336.

¹¹ *Cartas*, 333, 334, 336.

¹² *Cartas*, 347.

suffering ”¹ ; in January illness attacks her once more,² and from July until her death her health becomes gradually worse. Nor is her ill-health all. One by one her kinsfolk and friends are dying, and, from the time when she loses her beloved brother Lorenzo, she is so lonely that she longs for congenial companionship—even she who has tasted such rare spiritual favours. “ I am extremely lonely here. . . . I find such loneliness in spiritual matters. . . . Indeed, I find loneliness everywhere ”³ : such is the note which runs through these final letters.

Most of her letters reveal moments of mental despondency—moments which, in her normal mood, she would probably have assigned to the work of the intensely human devil in whom she believed⁴ as implicitly as in the God “ who arranges everything for my peace of mind.”⁵ “ Oh, if you only knew how down-cast and scrupulous I feel to-day ! I assure you I am very wicked, and the worst of it is that I never amend.”⁶ But such intimate confessions as these are in no way restricted to St. Teresa’s personal correspondence ; they appear indiscriminately in all her works and we are never allowed to forget her unworthiness for long : “ For fourteen years I could not meditate without a book,” she interpolates in the *Way of Perfection*. Or “ I know not why I am speaking of this, for any of you who are here could teach it to me.”⁷ If there is one trait in St. Teresa’s character which repels us it is a self-abasement carried to excess and suggestive of something the reverse

¹ *Cartas*, 381.

² *Cartas*, 404.

³ *Cartas*, 354, 366.

⁴ Her references to the devil in her Letters make strange reading nowadays, especially in the expressive figures and narrative of the original Spanish : “ El demonio puede sufrir mal estas casas, y así siempre nos persigue : mas el Señor lo puede todo, y él se va con las manos en la cabeza ” (14). “ A gente encerrada no quiere el demonio más de que sea posible en su opinión una cosa ” (81). “ Tenga agua bendita junto a sí, que no hay cosa con que más huya (el demonio). Esto me ha aprovechado muchas veces a mí. Algunas no paraba en sólo miedo, que me atormentaba mucho, esto para sí sólo. Mas si no le acierta a dar el agua bendita, no huye ; y así es menester echarla al rededor ” (168), etc., etc.

⁵ *Cartas*, 12.

⁶ To P. Gracián in October 1575, in a letter first published by P. Grégoire, and translated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, *op. cit.*, i, 221.

⁷ *Camino*, chap. viii (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 45).

of true humility. Can she really have thought herself a "sea of evil,"¹ a "filthy scum,"² "the weakest and most wretched of all who have ever been born"³? Can she honestly have believed that no credence would be given after her death to accounts of any good she might have done, because of her reputation as a vile and wicked woman⁴? It is difficult to think so: and yet such statements as these, with the most abject epithets, applied by St. Teresa to herself, appear continually. We prefer to think that they were penned in moments of depression, or at seasons when her ardent love of God and her clear vision of His holiness made her write, passionately rather than reflectively, lines which she could never bring herself to erase. Most saints have at times done the like.

But continually in her *Letters*, and even here and there through her greatest books, there peeps a whimsical humour—so strange when contrasted with this abnormal seriousness—which is St. Teresa's most human and most endearing personal trait. "We were greatly amused" is quite a common phrase to read in the *Letters*. "Oh, how well my confessor and I get on together!" St. Teresa exclaims to P. Gracián. "He makes me eat more than I am wont every day as a penance, or sends me to recreation."⁵ "Do not tell me so often that you are old," she writes to an Avilan friend, "As if the lives of young men were guaranteed!"⁶ This is the spirit in which she gently chides a slothful sister in the *Way of Perfection*—"We have hardly imagined our head aches

¹ *Vida*, chap. xviii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 132): "piélago de los males, que soy yo."

² *Vida*, chap. xix (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 138): "pecina tan sucia como yo." Some editors have softened *pecina* into *piscina*, "pool," without apparent reason.

³ *Vida*, chap. vii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 53): "Verdad es que yo soy más flaca y ruin que todos los nacidos." The whole chapter may be read in this connexion: it is full of such self-reproaches.

⁴ *Vida*, chap. x (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 73): "There is no advantage to be gained by publishing my name. . . . After my death there will be no reason against it, except that it will lose all authority and will not be credited, if related of a person as vile and wretched as I."

⁵ *Cartas*, 147.

⁶ "Como si en la vida de los mozos hubiera alguna seguridad" (*Cartas*, 10). The tone of the whole letter, however, is a better illustration of the matter in question than a few words excerpted from it.

when we leave off going to choir—one day, because it ached, another because it has not ached, and three more, lest it should ache again”¹; while the next moment she is likening contemplation to a game of chess, and laughingly adding: “Now you see what a mother God has given you, an expert even in a vanity like this!”² It is the spirit too in which she draws herself up in a letter to cry: “But how malicious I am! And in this life there is need to be.” It is the spirit in which she begs the Prioress of Seville to make allowances for any asperity in a letter full of necessary criticism and reproof:

Your Reverence must forgive me: I am unbearable with those I love, for I want them to go astray in nothing.³

Such in broad outline is Teresa the woman, combining the practical efficiency of a Martha and the calm, rapt devotion of a Mary, sharing the joys and the troubles peculiar to each, and offering them as a gift to her Master. Such a character as hers could hardly fail to win the affections of those who revered her for her virtues. We turn now to her contemplative writings, and endeavour to gain some idea of Teresa the Mystic.

II

The principal writings of St. Teresa extend over a period of rather less than twenty years. Her *Life* (“*Libro de su Vida*”), which is mainly an account of her spiritual progress, was written between 1562 and 1565,

¹ *Camino*, chap. x, *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 54, cf. n. 1. The passage, and that which follows it, are well worth quoting in the original: “No nos ha venido a la imaginación que nos duele la cabeza, cuando dejamos de ir al coro, que tampoco nos mata. Un día, porque nos dolió, y otro, porque no nos ha dolido, y otros tres, porque no nos duela; y queremos inventar penitencias de nuestra cabeza, para que no podamos hacer lo uno ni lo otro; y a veces es poco el mal, y nos parece que no estamos obligadas a hacer nada, que con pedir licencia cumplimos.”

² *Camino*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 74): “Aun así me habéis de reprehender, porque hablo en cosa de juego, no le habiendo en esta casa, ni habiéndole de haber. Aquí veréis la madre que os dió Dios, que hasta esta vanidad sabía; mas dicen que es lícito algunas veces, y ¡cuán lícita sería para nosotras esta manera de juego!”

³ *Cartas*, 304.

the version now extant being a revision of an earlier story of her life, finished in the year 1562. In 1564 comes the *Constitutions*, a work of small importance for our purpose, and in the following year the *Way of Perfection* ("Camino de Perfección"), which, though it contains much mystical wisdom, is the most suitable of St. Teresa's books for more general devotional reading. The little known but beautiful *Conceptions of the Love of God* were written between 1567 and 1575,¹ and the *Exclamations* probably in 1569.² St. Teresa's next and last great work, however, the *Mansions* (or "Moradas," also known, especially in English, as the *Interior Castle*), was not written till 1577. It was composed very rapidly, for the most part in the convents of Toledo and Avila, by the command of Padre Gracián and Don Alonso Velázquez, afterwards Bishop of Osma. There had previously been published another notable work, the *Book of the Foundations*, which, as its title implies, is mainly concerned with the foundations of the Reform; the *Relations*, or Reports, written by St. Teresa to her Directors on her spiritual life, bear dates between 1560 and 1579. The minor works, written at various times, include a number of poems, hymns and other verses, and the numerous letters already referred to, of which nearly five hundred are extant.

As the purpose of this and the succeeding sections is to give as clear and connected an account as is possible of St. Teresa's teaching on the mystical life, no attempt will be made to write of each of these books in turn. We shall endeavour rather to illustrate the exposition which follows from all of them indifferently, taking as a basis the two most important—the *Book of her Life* and the *Mansions*.

The first attempt which St. Teresa made to describe the Mystic Way is in her *Life*, where she portrays it by means of a series of images representing a watered garden. The symbol chosen is significant, for, from childhood to

¹ The exact year of their composition is unknown. Cf. *Obras*, vol. iv, p. liii, where P. Silverio de Santa Teresa discusses the question.

² This date, which has been disputed, is that given by Luis de León in the Salamanca edition of St. Teresa's works (1588). P. Silverio thinks it not an improbable one (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. lxvii).

old age, she was intensely fascinated by water. "I love this element so much," she says in her *Mansions*, "that I have observed it more carefully than other things."¹ This was nothing new in her ; for, as a little girl she had knelt again and again in devotion before a picture of Christ at the Samaritan well, and repeated continually the words which were beneath it : "Lord, give me this water."² And as a woman of sixty she wrote from Alba de Tormes to the Madre Ana de la Encarnación : "I can see the river from here, and also from where I sleep, so that I can enjoy the sight of it when I am in bed, which gives me great delight."³

So we may picture the Saint, in these early days of her mystical life, walking in some rustic garden, half cultivated, half wild, and thinking of those who might well be compared with its attendants :

The beginner must think of himself as of one setting out to make a garden which is to be pleasing to the Lord, yet in soil most unfruitful and full of weeds. His Majesty uproots the weeds, and will set good plants in their stead. Let us consider that this is already done—that a soul has resolved to live the life of prayer and has already begun it. We have, then, by God's help, as good gardeners, to make these plants grow, and to water them carefully, that they may not perish, but produce blossoms which shall send forth great fragrance to give refreshment to our Lord ; and thus He may come often for His pleasure into this garden, and take His delight among these virtues.⁴

The similitude of the garden attracts her, but it is the figure of the watering which appeals to her most. On this, then, she lays hold, and uses it to describe the four stages in the mystic progress as then known to her. The introductory passage merits quotation in full :

Let us now consider how this garden can be watered, that

¹ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 54).

² *Vida*, chap. xxx (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 246-7).

³ *Cartas*, 51. Seven years later, too, she writes from Soria to Gracián, who was at Salamanca (by the same river) : "El estar cabe el río le he envidia" (*Cartas*, 375). She loved also to watch the ships : "¿Piensa que es poco tener casa adonde puedan ver esas galeras ? Por acá las tienen envidia : que es gran calidad para alabar a nuestro Señor" (*Cartas*, 326).

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 77).

we may know what we have to do, what labour it will cost us, if the gain outweighs the labour, and for how long this labour must be borne. It seems to me that the garden can be watered in four ways : by taking water from a well, which costs us much labour ; or by a water-wheel ¹ and buckets, when the water is drawn by a windlass—I have drawn it thus at times : it is less laborious than the other way and gives more water ; or by a stream or a brook, which waters the ground much better, for it becomes more thoroughly saturated, and there is less need to water it often, and the gardener's labour is much less ; or by showers of rain, when the Lord Himself waters it without any labour of ours, and this way is incomparably better than any of those which have been described.²

And now I come to my point, which is the application of these four manners of watering by which the garden is to be kept in fertility, for without water it must fail. I think I shall be able to give some explanation of the four degrees of prayer which our Lord, of His goodness, has at times applied to my soul. May He also of His goodness grant that I may so speak as to be of some profit to one of the persons who commanded me to write this book, whom our Lord has brought in four months to a point far beyond that which I have reached in seventeen years. He prepared himself better than I, and thus his garden, without labour on his part, is watered by all these four means—though the last watering he receives only drop by drop ; but his garden is making such progress that soon, by the help of the Lord, it will be submerged. I shall be glad for him to laugh at my explanation, if he finds it foolish.³

Those who themselves draw up water from the well are “ beginners in prayer,” ⁴ who as yet have no mystical experience, but for whom St. Teresa is constantly

¹ *I.e.* the *noria*, a water-wheel hung with earthenware pots or buckets and turned so that these descend into the water and are raised again in turn.

² Pues veamos ahora de la manera que se puede regar para que entendamos lo que hemos de hacer y el trabajo que nos ha de costar, si es mayor la ganancia, o hasta qué tiempo se ha de tener. Paréceme a mí que se puede regar de cuatro maneras : o con sacar el agua de un pozo, que es a nuestro gran trabajo ; o con noria y arcaduces, que se saca con un torno ; yo la he sacado algunas veces, es a menos trabajo que estotro, y sácase más agua ; o de un río o arroyo, esto se riega muy mejor, que queda más harta la tierra de agua, y no se ha menester regar tan a menudo, y es a menos trabajo mucho del hortelano ; o con llover mucho que lo riega el Señor sin trabajo ninguno nuestro, y es muy sin comparación mejor que todo lo que queda dicho (*Vida*, chap. xi ; *Obras*, vol. i, pp. 77-8).

³ *Vida*, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 78).

⁴ *Ibid.*

solicitous—for had she not herself striven long as a beginner? ¹ Their toil is “very laborious, for they have to weary themselves in keeping recollected the senses which hitherto have been accustomed to a life of distraction. To do this is a great labour.” ² Furthermore, their recompense appears to be small, for supernatural graces are, as it seems, denied them :

What, then, will he do here who sees that, for many days, there is naught but drought, distaste, dislike, and so little desire to go and draw water that he would give it up entirely if he did not remember that it is pleasing and serving the Lord of the garden ; if he were not anxious that his service should not be lost, as well as the gain which he hopes for from the great labour of lowering the bucket into the well so often, and drawing it up without water ? It will often happen that even for that purpose he is unable to move his arms—unable (that is) to think a single good thought ; for working with the understanding is the same as drawing water out of the well.

What, then, as I have said, will the gardener do here ? He will be glad and take heart, and consider it the greatest favour to work in the garden of so great a Sovereign ; and as he knows that he is pleasing Him by so working—and his purpose must be to please not himself, but Him—let him praise Him greatly for placing such confidence in him, for He sees that, without receiving any recompense, he is taking very great care of that which was entrusted to him ; let him help Him to bear the Cross, and let him consider how He lived with it all His life long ; let him not seek his kingdom here, nor ever cease from prayer ; and so let him resolve, if this spiritual drought should persist his whole life long, never to let Christ fall beneath the Cross.³

So the newly initiated toil on, without vision, but with abundant faith that “the time will come when they shall be paid once for all.” ⁴ Sometimes, when the well seems to be dry, it comes to pass, through God’s grace, that the flowers are preserved without water.⁵ The beginner, full of wonder, can but say : “If He wills that these plants and flowers should grow, some by means of

¹ *Vida*, *passim*, especially chaps. iv, viii.

² *Vida*, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 78).

³ *Vida*, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 79).

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 79).

⁵ *Ibid.*

the water drawn from the well, others without it, what is that to me? Do Thou, O Lord, what Thou wilt; let me not offend Thee nor let my virtues perish, if of Thy mere goodness Thou hast given me such . . . let Thy will be wrought in me wholly.”¹

The similitude of the *noría* represents the second Degree of Prayer (or *grado de oración*, as these states of the soul are here termed), which degree is spoken of as the *oración de quietud*: the Prayer of Quiet.² In this state for the first time the contemplative soul has not to toil and labour for every grace that it receives:

The gardener may now draw more water with less labour, and he is able to take rest instead of being continually at work. . . . In this state the soul begins to recollect itself, and touches the supernatural, for in no way by its own exertions can it gain that which it receives. True, it seems at times to have been wearied by its work at the windlass, labouring with the understanding and filling the buckets; but in this second state the water is higher, and thus much less labour is required than in drawing it from the well: I mean that the water is nearer to it, for grace reveals itself more clearly to the soul. The faculties (*potencias*) are recollected within the soul, that it may have the greater joy of its delight, but they are not lost, neither do they sleep. Only the will is occupied, so that, without knowing in what manner it is made captive, it allows itself to be imprisoned by God, as one that knows itself well to be the captive of Him Whom it loves.³

St. Teresa makes some attempt to describe the Prayer of Quiet more fully, but breaks off, pleading the distractions of a busy community life, and her lack of leisure⁴; we shall presently consider a later description of the same state, which is both longer and more adequate. She returns now to her “orchard, or garden” and contemplates the fruits of this second degree of prayer: “let

¹ *Vida*, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 81).

² *Vida*, chap. xiv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 101): “la oración que llaman de quietud.”

³ *Ibid.* The last sentence reads, in the original, thus: “Esto es un recogerse las potencias dentro de sí para gozar de aquel contento con más gusto; mas no se pierden ni se duermen; sola la voluntad se ocupa, de manera que, sin saber cómo, se cautiva; sólo da consentimiento para que la encarcele Dios, como quien bien sabe ser cautivo de quien ama.”

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xiv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 104).

us see how these trees begin to take life (*empreñarse*), to flower, and afterwards to give fruit ; and the flowers and the carnations give out their perfume.”¹ Then she leaves metaphor again to give some wholesome practical counsel to those who have reached the Prayer of Quiet.

There are many souls that reach this state, but few that pass beyond it, and this very often for lack of instruction. Yet the Prayer of Quiet is but a “ tiny spark ” (*centellica*)² from God’s fire³ : set in the soul by God as a “ signal ” or “ pledge,” this spark will kindle the “ greater fire, which will send forth from itself flames.” The important thing is that the soul should not seek to increase this fire, which—if it does so—it can only quench, by striving with the understanding—a temptation specially common among the acute-minded and learned. Let learning be put on one side—the time may come when God will use it, but for the present the mystic should remain for as long as he may in the state of Quiet and wait upon the Lord.⁴

“ Let us now come,” continues St. Teresa, “ to speak of the third water—running water from a river or a spring—which refreshes the garden at the expense of much less labour, although some is needful to direct the course of the water. In this degree of prayer, the Lord will aid the gardener, so much so that He almost becomes Himself the gardener and does all the work.”⁵ The obedient soul is lost in wonder as it sees the Divine Master—the very Creator of the water—taking upon Him the gardener’s form, and allowing it to rest while He visits it. What could not be accomplished in twenty years by the labour of the understanding, has been granted to the soul “ without measure ” by the Heavenly Gardener in an instant (*en un punto*).⁶ The soul is able to derive its spiritual sustenance from the garden. The virtues—its fragrant flowers—are stronger and sweeter than they were

¹ *Vida*, chap. xiv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 104–5).

² Osuna also uses the word *centella* in the same connexion, see pp. 107–8, above.

³ Cf. p. 173, below.

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 109–10).

⁵ *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 117).

⁶ *Vida*, chap. xvii (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 123–4).

during the Prayer of Quiet ; yet the humility of the soul is deeper than ever before, for it has received all as a gift, and from no labours—still less from any merits—of its own.¹

Leaving for a moment the main image, St. Teresa describes the experience of the soul raised to this degree, by two powerful figures : one of a man drowning—but in the waters of Grace—so that he cannot help himself, and awaits only the “fruition of exceeding glory”²; the other of a dying man “with the candle in his hand, about to die the death which he desires.”³ These figures suggest that the state of prayer here described is of short duration, giving place very soon to a higher one—the highest state of all. “It is a glorious folly, a celestial frenzy, wherein the soul learns true wisdom, a manner of fruition most full of delight.”⁴ Some five or six years have passed, adds the Saint, since she first experienced it, and she has been admitted to it on the very day she is writing.

She says something, too (though not as much as in a later book⁵) of the psychological characteristics of the third water. “It is a sleep of the faculties, which neither are wholly lost, nor yet understand how they work. . . . The soul in that state knows not what to do, for it knows not if it speaks or is silent, if it laughs or weeps. . . . I clearly understood [when in that state] that there was not complete union of all the faculties . . . yet truly they are almost in complete union, only not so wholly engulfed that they cannot work.”⁶

¹ *Vida*, chap. xvii (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 124–5).

² *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 117).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Es un glorioso desatino, una celestial locura, a donde se desprende la verdadera sabiduría, y es deleitosísima manera de gozar el alma (*ibid.*).

⁵ See pp. 179 ff., below.

⁶ *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 117–8). The original text reads : “Es un sueño de las potencias, que ni del todo se pierden, ni entienden cómo obran. . . . El gusto y suavidad y deleite es más sin comparación que lo pasado ; es que da el agua a la garganta a esta alma de la gracia, que no puede ya ir adelante, ni sabe cómo, ni tornar atrás. . . . Ni entonces sabe el alma qué hacer ; porque ni sabe si hable, ni si calle, ni si ría ni si lllore. . . . Bien entendía [yo] que no era del todo unión de todas las potencias, y que era más que la pasada, muy claro. . . . Bien entendía que era Dios, mas no podía entender cómo obraba aquí ; porque, en hecho de verdad, están casi del todo unidas las potencias, mas no tan engolfadas que no obren.”

The faculties, it seems, have power only to treat of God (*para ocuparse todas en Dios*). The subject speaks, perhaps—but without order or method, and the speech is all of God : “ the understanding is nothing worth ” (*no vale nada*).¹ So all that is heard is *mil desatinos santos* (“ torrents of holy nonsense ”).² The soul desires earnestly to be free ; “ eating is a torture (*el comer la mata*), sleeping is anguish.” It seems to be living “ against nature,” for it desires to live no more, save in God.³

Occasionally, St. Teresa notes, when the will is in union in this way, “ captive and in great bliss, . . . abiding in quietness,” the understanding and memory are sufficiently free to allow the subject to read, and to perform ordinary business and works of charity. This state, however, she will not allow to be part of the Prayer of Quiet, which belongs to the contemplative life only ; whereas the state now described has in it much of Martha as well as of Mary.⁴ It is probably, however, identical with the Prayer of Quiet, when once its most intimate phase has passed ; and this may explain why it does not, in the later books, receive separate recognition. Another “ manner of union ” is also described “ which is not wholly union : it is more so than the state which I have just described, but less so than the state of the third water ” :

Very many times has God after this manner favoured me. He constrains (*coge*) the will, and even—as it seems to me—the understanding, for it reasons not (*no discurre*), but is occupied with the fruition of God, as one that gazes and beholds so many things that it knows not whither to gaze. . . . The memory is free (it will remain with the imagination), and seeing itself alone it struggles in an amazing way, and endeavours to destroy the peace of the soul entirely : it wearies me, and for my own part I abhor it, and oftentimes beg the Lord, if it is to trouble me so much,

¹ *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 118).

² *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 119). Cf. “ esta santa locura celestial,” below.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xvii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 125) : In the Prayer of Quiet “ the soul is enjoying the holy repose of Mary, while in this prayer it can be like Martha only.”

that He will take it from me at these seasons. . . . It happens to me at times (and to-day has been one of them, so that I have it well in my memory) that I see my soul dissolved (*deshacerse*) that it may all be where its greater part is : this is impossible, but the memory and imagination strive so against it that they make it helpless (*no la dejan valer*) ; but as the other faculties are not there they can do nothing, not even harm.¹

What, in such case, is the mystic to do ? His memory is, as it were, a fluttering moth, straying here and there, and distracting everything that is cognisant of it. The remedy is to act as though he were in the Prayer of Quiet—neither to harass the wandering memory nor to exercise it at all, but to leave it alone : “dejarla con su tema.” It cannot disturb the other faculties, which are in union ; but they, if it be allowed to go its way, may attract it to themselves, for God will take pity on the soul and in His compassion make the memory to be “burned in the flame of that divine candle” (*vela*), wherein the other faculties have already lost their natures and have “been reduced to dust.”²

The fourth and highest degree of prayer which the Saint knew when she wrote her *Life* is like the third, in that the soul is receptive and passive, but it is as incomparably more beneficial as is the shower of rain than the irrigating stream. “It comes down from heaven in its abundance to fill and saturate the whole of the garden with water. . . . Very often it comes down when the gardener least expects it.”³ It is so abundant that both soul and body are overpowered. “There is no feeling in this state—naught but fruition is therein, without understanding of that whereof is the fruition. The soul understands that it is of something good, wherein all good things are comprehended, but knows not its nature.”⁴ This degree is union : union of all the faculties in God. It is impossible to explain—were it not so, it could not be what it is. Something only of the soul’s condition in that state can be described :

The manner of that which is called union, and its nature,

¹ *Vida*, chap. xvii (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 125-6).

² *Ibid.* (pp. 126-7).

³ *Vida*, chap. xviii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 133).

⁴ *Ibid.* (p. 129).

I know not how to express : it is explained in mystical theology, but I cannot speak of these things by their names, nor understand what is "mind" (*mente*), or how it differs from the soul or spirit : all is to me as one. The soul sometimes leaps forth from itself, like a fire that is burning and has burst into flame. Sometimes this fire increases violently ; the flame rises far above the fire ; but that does not make it a different thing—it is still the same flame that is in the fire. This your worships with all your learning will understand : I cannot say more.¹

Her further attempts to explain this degree of prayer are but little more successful than the foregoing. The soul is seeking God, when it feels itself "like to fall into a kind of swoon with its sweet and exceeding great delight." Its corporal powers cease to act : the subject can hardly move his hands, the eyes involuntarily close (or if they remain open he can see nothing). He cannot read, for, if he can see the letters, the understanding cannot interpret them. Similarly he cannot hear, for the understanding is powerless to interpret the sounds.² But such description of external (and presumably individual) symptoms does not carry us any farther towards comprehending the experience itself. As to this, St. Teresa can only say : "He who has experienced it will understand something of this, for it cannot be put more clearly, so dark is the happening. I can only say that the soul feels itself to be joined with God (*se representa estar junto con Dios*), and the certainty of this remains—a certainty which can never be lost."³

All the faculties fail here, and are suspended in such a manner that their working can in no wise be comprehended. . . . The will must be fully occupied in loving, but it understands not that it loves ; the understanding, if it comprehends, understands not how it comprehends, or at the least, the object of its comprehension. I think myself that it works not at all.⁴

¹ *Vida*, chap. xviii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 130).

² *Ibid.* (p. 133).

³ *Ibid.* (p. 135).

⁴ *Ibid.* The original reads : "Aquí faltan todas las potencias, y se suspenden de manera, que en ninguna manera, como he dicho, se entiende que obran. . . . La voluntad debe estar bien ocupada en amar, mas no entiende cómo ama ; el entendimiento, si entiende, no se entiende cómo entiende, al menos no puede comprender nada de lo que entiende. A mí no me parece que entiende."

All is dark and uncertain, save for the one clear and certain central fact—that the soul is in union.

This certainty, let it be noted, is of God's Very Presence—the most sacred visitation imaginable—not merely of the presence of His grace.¹ It is therefore strange to find St. Teresa, in the chapter of her life following that of the passages just quoted, exhorting those who have experienced it not to go back on the road of their journey²: one would have supposed that such lofty union followed by retrogression was impossible. We learn, however, later that this experience of union is, like the preceding degree of prayer, only transitory³: the showers are intermittent, often rare. It is not, then, unreasonable to suppose that this fourth degree of prayer may be superseded by others, and the Saint may have had some premonition of a mystery which she had not fully experienced, but which was shown her in those raptures (*arrobamientos*) of which she writes more in her *Life* than in the maturer *Mansions*. The fourth water, nevertheless, is the highest state described in the book which we have been considering.

III

Fifteen years after St. Teresa had written the *Book of her Life*, she took up her pen again under obedience, to write (as it proved) the fullest description of the Mystic

¹ As some ignorant persons ("los que no tenían letras") used to assert to St. Teresa was the case (*ibid.*).

² *Vida*, chap. xix, *passim*. Part of the sub-title of the chapter reads: "Persuades them earnestly not to turn back, even if after this favour they fall again, nor to give up prayer."

³ *Vida*, xix (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 137): "It has sometimes happened to me, *at the end of this prayer*, to be so far carried out of myself as not to know if this has been a dream, or if the glory which I have experienced has really come to pass."

St. Teresa writes at some length, in chapter xix of her *Life*, of the "practical" fruits which remain to the mystic after the experience described has passed, in a way which should convince anyone that the mystic does not live permanently in the clouds.

Way that she has left us.¹ Again she chose a symbol, and this time one more apt and complete than that of the four Waters. It was no doubt the "many mansions" of St. John's Gospel² which originally suggested to her the comparison of the soul with a many-roomed castle, though Yepes, in a long letter to Fray Luis de León after her death, assigns the genesis of the book to a vision, in language striking enough to be quoted :

. . . They commanded her to write a treatise on prayer, of which she knew much by experience. On the eve of the Most Holy Trinity, while she was thinking what subject to choose for this treatise, God fulfilled her wish and gave her a subject. He showed her a most beautiful crystal globe, in the shape of a castle, with seven sets of rooms,³ and in the seventh and innermost was the King of Glory surrounded by the most dazzling splendour, which lighted and adorned those mansions³ even to the enclosure.⁴ It did not penetrate beyond the enclosure, outside of which all was darkness and impurity, full of toads and vipers and other venomous creatures.

As she was wondering at this beauty, which by God's grace dwells in the soul, the light of a sudden disappeared, and while the King of Glory still remained in that (innermost) mansion the crystal became dark, and unlovely as coal, emitting an intolerable odour; and the venomous creatures which were outside the enclosure were permitted to enter the castle.⁵

On the very next day⁶ St. Teresa began to work upon this vision, and in a few brief lines she expounded that part of it which was to furnish the basis of her book :

I shall . . . think of our soul as of a castle, formed of a single diamond or of a transparent crystal, in which are many rooms, just as in heaven there are many mansions. . . . Some (of these) are

¹ Her writings in general are termed by a writer in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* ("Mysticism: Christian, Roman Catholic") "the most complete and vivid descriptions ever penned of the successive phenomena of the inner experiences of a saint." The *Mansions* themselves are deservedly lauded by P. Silverio (in *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. x, xxv) in this and other respects.

² St. John, xiv, 2.

³ I.e. *moradas*, the word which gives the book its title.

⁴ I.e. of the castle.

⁵ Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, vol. vi, p. 131.

⁶ "Así comienzo a cumplirla hoy día de la Santísima Trinidad, año de 1577." (Preface to the *Moradas*; *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 6.)

above, others below, others on either side ; and in the centre, in the midst of them all, is the chiefest of them, where many things most secret pass between God and the soul.¹

In spite of the mention of "upper" and "lower" rooms,² the essential image in the author's mind seems to be of a palace on one floor with one central Holy of Holies and around it a series of suites of rooms expanding in ever-widening circles. "You must not think of these Mansions as a succession of rooms built one behind the other, but fix your eyes on the innermost, the palace wherein dwells the King. This is like the *palmito*,³ around the savoury and eatable parts of which are many rinds. Just so, around the central mansion are many others."⁴

Characteristically, in the *Mansions* as in the *Life*, St. Teresa devotes much of her book to those who are but

¹ Se me ofreció lo que ahora diré . . . que es, considerar nuestra alma como un castillo todo de un diamante, o muy claro cristal, a donde hay muchos aposentos ; así como en el cielo hay muchas moradas . . . unas en lo alto, otras en bajo, otras a los lados y en el centro, y mitad de todas estas tiene la más principal, que es adonde pasan las cosas de mucho secreto entre Dios y el alma (*Moradas*, I, chap. 1 ; *Obras*, vol. iv, chap. 7). Cf. also St. John of the Cross, *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, II, xi, and *Cántico Espiritual*, xxvi, 1 ff.

The likening of the castle to the soul is not altogether happy, for in some respects, and in many places in the book, it corresponds rather to the contemplative life. In the very first chapter the incongruity of the similitude (at the "entrance" of the soul into the "castle" which stands for the soul itself) seems to have occurred to St. Teresa, and she writes (I, chap. 1 ; *Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 9-10) : "Pues tornando a nuestro hermoso y deleitoso Castillo, hemos de ver cómo podremos entrar en él. Parece que digo algún disparate ; porque si este Castillo es el ánima, claro está que no hay para qué entrar, pues sé es él mismo : como parecería desatino decir a uno que entrase en una pieza, estando ya dentro." She escapes from the difficulty by a reference to the introversion or "self-entrance" recommended by "certain books on prayer" ("Ya habréis oído en algunos libros de oración aconsejar al alma, que entre dentro de sí ; pues esto mismo es"—I, chap. 1 ; *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 10). But that the figure is used by St. Teresa somewhat vaguely—though she adheres to it as a rule—is clear from other passages in the *Moradas*, e.g. vi, chap. 10 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 170), where God Himself is compared to a "most spacious and beautiful palace or mansion."

² Both in the passage quoted above, and also in the Epilogue to the *Moradas*, which suggests an indefinite expansion of the similitude : "Although this book treats of seven mansions only, yet in each of them are many rooms more, both above and below, and all around, with fair gardens, fountains, labyrinths and other things very delightful" (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 210).

³ See p. 213, below.

⁴ *Moradas*, I, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 16).

beginners in the Way of Perfection and have no aspirations towards mystical states of which they do not even know. Of the seven mansions, no fewer than three correspond to the first degree of prayer in the *Life*. St. Teresa, ever practical, could not lose contact for long with the world of every day, and has no mind to write only for the few who already live in some degree of communion with the Unseen.¹ On the contrary, the postulants for admission into the castle precincts are "still very worldly"; they have only "some" desire to do well; and it is but "rarely" that they commend themselves to God's care. "They think about their souls at times; although very busy, they pray a few times a month, their minds generally filled with a thousand other matters, for where their treasure is there is their heart also."² Those who live outside the castle are frequently in mortal sin,³ its gateway being nothing more formidable than the vocal prayer practised by every professing Christian, together with the use of meditation.⁴ "So far as I can understand," are St. Teresa's words, "the gate by which to enter this castle is prayer and meditation (*consideración*): I do not say mental prayer rather than vocal, for if it be prayer at all, it must be accompanied by meditation. . . . In this way the soul enters the first rooms on the lowest floor of the castle, though with it there enter so many reptiles that it can neither see the beauty of the castle nor enjoy any repose: it has done all that it can in entering, and that is much."⁵

As our purpose is primarily to examine St. Teresa's mysticism, we may pass very briefly over the first three Mansions, which may be called the Mansions of Humility, of the Practice of Prayer, and of Meditation and Exemplary Life. Insistence on humility is the keynote of

¹ See preface to *Moradas* (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 5-6), where her aim is clearly expressed. At the end, too, she adds to the sublime chapters on the Seventh Mansions a few simple counsels for those who would enter the Mansions and are ignorant of the way. And, indeed, such counsels are scattered through the whole even of this the most advanced of her books.

² *Moradas*, i, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 11).

³ *Moradas*, i, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 13-14).

⁴ *Moradas*, i, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 10-11).

⁵ *Ibid.*

all her work, as it is also of the works of most Christian mystics of every age. One could quote extensively :

Humility must always be engendered, as the bee makes honey in the hive ; otherwise all is lost.¹

Oh humility, humility ! I know not why I am tempted thus, but I can never help thinking that those who talk so much of dryness (in prayer) lack this virtue a little.²

Humility ! as I have said ; humility is the unction for all our wounds ; if we have it . . . God, Who is our Physician, will come and heal us.³

We must walk with great humility ; it is failure in this, I believe, which is the fault of those who make no progress.⁴

Where there is true humility, although God should never grant supernatural gifts (*regalos*), He will give a peace and a resignation which satisfy the soul even more.⁵

Humility, humility ! the Lord lets Himself be vanquished by this and grants us all we ask.⁶

This humility comes by self-knowledge, by the concentration of the soul at once upon its own insufficiency and upon the greatness and majesty of God.⁷ “ By considering His purity we shall realize our own foulness ; and by meditating on His humility we shall see how far we are from being humble.”⁸

Entering, then, first, by the “ room of humility ”⁹ the soul soon hears the Lord calling her farther, and finds herself knocking at the second door. Despite the poisonous reptiles which torment her and disturb her peace (for she may “ still be occupied with the amusements and affairs, the pleasures and vanities of this world ”) she embraces the practice of prayer,¹⁰ and, gathering

¹ *Moradas*, i, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 17).

² *Moradas*, iii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 35).

³ *Moradas*, iii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 39).

⁴ *Moradas*, iii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 40).

⁵ *Moradas*, iii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 36).

⁶ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 56).

⁷ *Moradas*, i, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 17).

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Moradas*, ii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 23-4).

confidence with calmness, devotes herself more and more to her Master.¹ Often she is discouraged at her failures : so many and so fierce are the assaults of the evil one that she even repents of having entered the castle at all.² But those who have begun this journey must never turn back. "Let them trust in God's mercy and not in themselves : thus shall they see how His Majesty leads them from one Mansion to another, setting them in places where the wild beasts can neither touch nor annoy them, but will be subject to them."³

So the soul moves to the third Mansion, beyond which numbers of those who attain to it never pass. Thanks to God's mercy its inhabitants are many : "they are very desirous not to offend God's Majesty, keeping themselves even from venial sins, doing penance gladly, spending hours in meditation. They use their time well, practise works of charity to their neighbours, are seemly in speech as in dress, and govern their houses well if they have any."⁴

In other words, they have reached a point on the road to heaven which to all but the mystically minded is, so far as this life goes, the summit. They realize their imperfections—except at moments when they are overcome by a wrong spirit of exaltation—but they believe that their spiritual experiences of the future will increase only in intensity, not in kind. Hence nearly all who attain to this Mansion, even if they eventually pass beyond it, remain in it a very long time.⁵ This is not to say, however, that they should not make more efforts than they often do to pass to the innermost Mansions :

Their love is not yet strong enough to prevent their being governed by reason : I would it were, so that they should no longer be satisfied with this way of serving God at a snail's pace (*siempre a un paso paso*)—which will never bring us to the end of our journey.

We think we are going forward all the time, and we grow very

¹ *Moradas*, ii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 29).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Moradas*, iii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 33-4).

⁵ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 46).

weary, for, believe me, it is a wearisome road : but we shall do very well if we do not lose our way. Do you think, my daughters, that, if we could travel from one country to another in a week, it would be well to make the journey last a year, and go through storms and snow and floods and bad roads? Would it not be better to make the journey once and for all, for there are all these dangers, and perils of serpents besides? . . .

We go forward with such circumspection that we stumble at everything because we fear everything ; and thus we dare not make further progress—as if others could make the journey for us and we ourselves arrive at these Mansions. Since this cannot be, my sisters, let us exert ourselves, for love of the Lord, leaving in His hands our reasoning and our fears, and forgetting the weakness of our nature, with which we can be so greatly occupied. . . . Let us be concerned alone to travel apace till we reach the presence of our Lord.¹

In the third Mansions we have not yet (normally) reached the stage where marked supernatural favours are bestowed, for, although God gives the soul devotion and desire to press on farther in the mystical life, He only gives spiritual consolations (*gustos*) now and then, in the form of glimpses, as it were, into the Mansions beyond.² This lack of favour from God often depresses many who are on the right road, and eager to advance ; the mystic

¹ *Moradas*, iii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 40).

² *Moradas*, iii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 41) . . . “con ver lo que pasa en las demás Moradas, porque se dispongan para entrar en ellas.” St. Teresa in this passage makes a sharp distinction between *contentos* and *gustos* (cf. *Obras*, vol. iv, p. xvii), which she amplifies in the following chapter : “Pareceros ha que contentos y gustos, todo es uno, que para qué hago esta diferencia en los nombres. A mí paréceme que la hay muy grande.” (iii, chap. 2, *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 41.) Cf. iv, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 46–7) : “Los contentos me parece a mí se pueden llamar los que nosotras adquirimos con nuestra meditación, y peticiones a nuestro Señor, que procede de nuestro natural, aunque en fin ayuda para ellos Dios . . . mas nacen de la misma obra virtuosa que hacemos. . . . Los gustos comienzan de Dios, y siéntelos el natural, y goza tanto dellos, como gozan los que tengo dichos y mucho más.” Further light is thrown on this subject in iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 54 ff.). On the translation of these two words it should be remarked that the word *gustos* (“pleasures,” “favours,” “delights”) is generally rendered, by translators and commentators, in English, as “consolations” or “spiritual consolations.” It has therefore seemed best to keep the expression. The word “contentos” (or “contentos en la oración”) is normally translated “spiritual sweetness” or “sweetness in prayer.” This can hardly be confused with “consolations” as it might be with “pleasures” or “delights.”

must not allow himself, however, to be despondent, "for perfection consists not in consolations, but in increase of love."¹ He must rather praise God, as St. Teresa herself did, for having granted such favours to others, and for his own part continue to press on towards the innermost Mansions, never forgetting to practise the strictest obedience. Nor must such persons run into occasions of sinning against God. Here St. Teresa sounds the note of warning: "they are still near the first Mansions, and they might so easily fall back into them, for their strength is not built upon firm ground, as is the strength of those that are exercised in suffering, and who know how little the storms of this world are to be feared and its pleasures to be desired."² Let them live in humility, obedience and zeal, and, as their Rule exhorts them, in silence and in hope.³

And now St. Teresa approaches the Mansions nearer the King's dwelling, where the soul receives the first of the mystic favours of God, and, untroubled by the poisonous reptiles from without, begins to enjoy periods of unbroken communion with Him.⁴ The graces of the fourth Mansion are referred to generally as "spiritual consolations," and identified with the Prayer of Quiet or the Second Water.⁵ St. Teresa uses, in fact, the image of water, when she describes it, leaving for the moment her similitude of the Mansions, and likening the soul to a fountain built near its source, whence the water flows into it, not through an aqueduct, but directly from the spring:

Let us try to understand this better, supposing that we see two fountains with basins filled with water. . . . These two basins are filled in different ways: to the one, water comes from a great way off, through many aqueducts, artificially; the other is constructed near the source of the spring itself, and fills gradually and

¹ *Moradas*, iii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 41).

² *Moradas*, iii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 42-3).

³ The reference is to the "quietness and confidence" of Isa. xxx, 15 (A.V.).

⁴ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 46).

⁵ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 53): "Los que yo llamo gustos de Dios (que en otra parte lo he nombrado oración de quietud) es muy de otra manera."

noiselessly. If the spring has abundant water (like the Spring of which we speak) there comes a great stream of water after the basin is full. No artifice is needed here nor have aqueducts to be constructed, for the water is ever flowing.

This is the difference of which I write. The water that comes through aqueducts is, as I see it, the spiritual sweetness which proceeds from meditation. We draw this water, as it were, with our thoughts, by the help of meditation upon created things, and by the toil of our understanding. . . . To the other fountain comes water from its very source, that is, from God. . . . It overflows through all the mansions and powers of the soul (*potencias*), till it reaches the body ; wherefore I said that it begins with God and ends with ourselves.¹

No contact can be simpler than this, and its effect is described by St. Teresa with all the eloquence of simple sincerity. "It causes us the greatest peace, calm and sweetness in our inmost souls : I know neither where nor how."²

The soul in this state is at rest. "The faculties (*potencias*) are recollected within the soul. . . . They are not lost, neither do they sleep," St. Teresa had said in 1562,³ but some three years later, in the *Way of Perfection*, she is speaking of the Prayer of Quiet as "resembling a swoon" (*amortecimiento*), where the soul is "as one who, having reached his journey's end, rests awhile that he may the better continue his way."⁴ "It seems to the soul that there is no more to be desired. The faculties are at rest (*sosegadas*) . . . though they are not lost."⁴ They are able, "by quiet contemplation, to realize in Whose Presence they are ; the soul perceives plainly that it is near our Lord."⁵

¹ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 53-4).

² *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 54). This is almost the identical language of the *Libro de su vida*, written so long before, where St. Teresa says of the same state : "This satisfaction is in the very depths of the soul, and it knows neither how nor in what manner it has come to it : oftentimes, indeed, it knows not what to do, or to desire, or to ask." (*Vida*, chap. xiv ; *Obras*, vol. i, p. 103.)

³ *Vida*, chap. xiv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 101).

⁴ *Camino*, chap. xxxi (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 144).

⁵ The actual words of St. Teresa (*Camino*, chap. xxxi ; *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 143) are : "Todas las potencias se sosiegan. Entiende el alma, por una manera muy fuera de entender con los sentidos exteriores, que está ya junta

In spite of this not altogether consistent language (and in the eighth *Relation*—about April 1576—the Prayer of Quiet is associated quite plainly with a “sleep of the faculties”),¹ the substance of the description of this state in the *Way of Perfection* corresponds with that in the *Life*. In each book we are told that two of the faculties—understanding and memory—are free, the will only being held captive, and having no desire to regain its liberty. “The understanding would comprehend naught save one thing only, nor would the memory be occupied in more ; for they perceive that this is the one thing needful, and all things else distract them.”²

To demonstrate the identity referred to, we may compare the following passages from the *Life* with a similar one in the *Way of Perfection* :

The other two powers aid the will, that it may prepare itself more and more for the fruition of so great a good. At times, even when the will is in union, it happens that they hinder it considerably : on such occasions it should give no heed to them, but remain in its state of fruition and quiet. For if it endeavours to recollect them, both it and they will be lost : when in this condition, they are like doves, which are not content with the food that the owner of the dovecote gives them without their labouring to find it, but go in search of food elsewhere, and have such little success that they return. Even so do the memory and the understanding come and go, to see if the will is about to give them a share in its fruition.³

In the *Way of Perfection* we read :

I have said already that in this early recollection and quiet the powers of the soul do not fail, but the soul has such satisfaction in God that, while the recollection lasts, even if two of the powers

cabe su Dios, que, con poquito más, llegará a estar hecha una misma cosa con Él por unión.” And again (*ibid.*, pp. 143-4) : “Así lo entiende acá el alma, aunque no con esa claridad, porque aún ella no entiende cómo lo entiende, más de que se ve en el reino (al menos cabe el Rey que se le ha de dar) y parece que la misma alma está con acatamiento, aún para no osar pedir.” Cf. *Conceptos*, chap. iv (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 247) : “Siéntese una suavidad en lo interior del alma tan grande, que se da bien a sentir estar vecino nuestro Señor de ella.”

¹ *Relaciones*, v ; *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 32. Perhaps by using the word *soler* in this passage, she may be considered not actually to have contradicted herself.

² *Camino*, chap. xxxi (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 144).

³ *Vida*, chap. xiv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 102).

of the soul be distracted, its peace and rest are not lost, so long as the will is united with God. Little by little, indeed, the will leads the understanding and the memory into recollection again.¹

The faculties are not lost, for they are able to realize with Whom (*cabe quien*) they are. Two of them are free in this state : the will is captive, and if it is capable of feeling any pain, such pain comes only when it perceives that it will regain its freedom. The understanding desires to comprehend one thing only, and the memory has no wish to be occupied with more : they realize that this is the one thing needful, and all things beside disturb them.²

The following brief passage from the eighth *Relation* refers in all probability to the same conditions :

Occasionally, and even often, the soul perceives that the will alone is in union, and this it understands very clearly—at least, to all appearance. The will is wholly occupied with God, and the soul sees that it can neither be nor act in any other way. The other two powers are free to do business or work in the service of God : in fact, the way of Martha and the way of Mary are here combined.³

Returning to the *Mansions* we find that St. Teresa is very reticent concerning the psychological conditions of the Prayer of Quiet. She seems, indeed—though in the eighth *Relation* she had so recently synthetised these various states of grace—to be afraid of contradicting what she wrote in her *Life*. “In this state,” she writes, “the faculties are not, as it seems to me, united, but absorbed (*embebidas*), and, as it were, beholding this thing with great amazement. It may be that in writing here of these interior states I am to some extent contradicting what I have written of them elsewhere ; and this is not surprising, for in the fifteen years which have almost gone by since I so wrote, God has perhaps granted me to see more clearly.”⁴ She does not appear, how-

¹ *Vida*, chap. xv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 107). The context makes it clear, however, that this action of the will is involuntary, so that there is no contradiction implied with the previous passage.

² *Camino*, chap. xxxi (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 144). The quotation is continued below.

³ *Relaciones*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 32).

⁴ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 56).

ever, to be guilty of inconsistency in the *Mansions*, stopping short of it, possibly, by refraining from giving more details of her experiences, and continuing in general terms. The soul has by this time lost all desire for earthly things ; though knowing not the whole of what it has found, its inward contentment is such that it knows itself to have found that which it chiefly needs.¹ “ It would have the body remain motionless lest it should lose that peace ; and thus it dares not stir.”² It is troubled by much speaking : a whole hour will be spent in repeating one Paternoster. “ Those in this state are in the palace and near their King ”—thus the *Way of Perfection*, before the similitude of the *Mansions* was developed—“ and they perceive that here on earth He is beginning to grant them His kingdom.”³

Feeling the inadequacy of these attempts at description of the indescribable, St. Teresa endeavours to reinforce them by images. This she had already done once, as we have seen, under the similitude of fire : “ This Prayer (of Quiet), then, is a tiny spark of true love towards Himself which the Lord begins to kindle in the soul. . . . However tiny it may be, it causes a great crackling, and if one does not quench it by one’s own fault, it begins to enkindle a greater fire (of which I shall speak in its place) which sends forth flames of that exceeding love for God which His Majesty makes perfect souls to possess.”⁴ Now she varies the metaphor, using a figure which she had already employed in the *Conceptions*⁵ : “ The soul perceives a fragrance . . . as if in

¹ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 55–6). Cf. *Vida*, chap. xiv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 102–3) : “ By the time that the soul has arrived as far as this, it begins to lose its eagerness for the things of earth (*la codicia de lo de acá*), and small praise to it for this ; for it sees clearly that none of such joy [as it has attained to] can be found on earth ; that there is no wealth nor dominion nor honour nor delight which suffices to give so much of it as will last for the twinkling of an eye : this is true joy and contentment.”

² *Camino*, chap. xxxi (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 144).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 109). Cf. p. 157, above.

⁵ Viz., in *Conceptos*, chap. iv (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 248) : “ Parece que todo el hombre interior y exterior conhorta, como si le echasen en los tuétanos una unción suavísima, a manera de un gran olor, que si entrásemos en una parte de presto donde le hubiese grande, no de una cosa sola, sino muchas, y ni sabemos qué es, ni dónde está aquel olor, sino que nos penetra todos.”

its inmost depths there were a brazier emitting sweet perfumes. Neither seeing the fire, nor knowing where it is, the soul is penetrated by the heat and the fragrant fumes, which, as I have said, are sometimes even felt by the body. Understand me, no heat is really felt, nor scent inhaled, but something subtler far, which I endeavour to explain to you thus.”¹

Here, then, we have the happy soul warmed by the fire of God’s gifts, and in a state immeasurably greater than any to which she can attain, even with God’s help, through her own exertions. It may well be thought, therefore, that the transition from the third to the fourth Mansions is very abrupt, and the question naturally follows whether the soul has not passed through other courts or passages of the Castle before her admission to this first mystic abode. In plain language, has she received no further preparation for the Prayer of Quiet?

The reply is that she has. Besides persisting in those habits of humility, meditation and prayer learned in the outer Mansions, she has, in the first place, awaited for a long time, in a passive and receptive mood, whatever her Master may be pleased to send. “His we are, my sisters, let Him do what He will with us, and lead us whithersoever it please Him. I verily believe that if we humble ourselves in truth . . . the Lord will not fail to grant us these favours, and will give us many others that we have not so much as learned how to desire.”² Even religious practices like meditation have to give way when the divine instinct demands expression.³ “Thinking much is less to the point than loving much”⁴; the “turmoil of thoughts” (*baraúnda de pensamiento*), however holy and devout the thoughts may be, must be driven out if they invade the soul at moments of incoming grace.⁵ For the Divine Lord, Who waits to enter, is

¹ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 55).

² *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 57).

³ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 48–9).

⁴ *Ibid.*, “No está la cosa en pensar mucho, sino en amar mucho.”

⁵ Yet St. Teresa does not advocate pure and unconditional passivity, though it must be allowed that careful comparison of passages in the Spanish text reveals what appear to be inconsistencies. Her general position—a very

greater even than the greatest thoughts which devotion to Him inspires.

In the *Way of Perfection* St. Teresa amplifies the "advice" which she gives in her *Life* to those who have reached this state of prayer. They must not try to prolong it by any efforts of their own, for that is impossible: "we cannot make the day break, neither can we hinder the fall of night."¹ "What the soul has to do at these seasons of Quiet it must do gently and without noise. By noise I mean going about with the understanding in search of words and reflections by which to give thanks for this grace, and heaping up its sins and imperfections to realize that it does not deserve it."² Its wisdom is to seek solitude, and to recognize its entire dependence upon the Giver of all. Thoughts may come and go; the imagination may wander off on high and holy subjects or on "the greatest nonsense in the world"³; but the will must never attempt to combat it, or the state of peace will vanish. The will is mistress, and the will remains fixed upon God.⁴

Let the will be quiet and calm, understanding that not by the might of our own efforts can we treat with God,⁵ and that these are but great logs of wood indiscreetly piled up to quench the spark

reasonable one—is quite consistent, however, with the passage summarized above, and it may be represented by two short extracts from *Moradas* iv, chap. 3 (cf. *Vida*, chap. xii):

"Y es disposición para poder escuchar, como se aconseja en algunos libros, que procuren no discurrir, sino estarse atentos a ver qué obra el Señor en el alma. Que si Su Majestad no ha comenzado a embebernos, no puedo acabar de entender cómo se pueda detener el pensamiento, de manera que no haga más daño que provecho" (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 61).

"Lo que entiendo, que más conviene que ha de hacer el alma, que ha querido el Señor meter a esta morada, es lo dicho, y que sin ninguna fuerza ni ruido procure atajar el discurrir del entendimiento, mas no el suspenderle, ni el pensamiento; sino que es bien que se acuerde que está delante de Dios, y quién es este Dios" (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 63).

¹ *Camino*, chap. xxxi (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 145).

² *Vida*, chap. xv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 109-110).

³ "Los mayores desatinos del mundo" (*Camino*, chap. xxxi; *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 148). Cf. the "desatinos santos," p. 159, above.

⁴ *Camino*, chap. xxxi, *passim*.

⁵ "Entienda que no se negocia bien con Dios a fuerza de brazos." This statement has, of course, a particular and not a general bearing and is not contradicted by the story of Jacob and the angel. Cf. p. 60, above.

(of grace). Let it realize this, and say with deep humility : O Lord, what can I do here ? What has the servant to do with her Lord, and earth with heaven ? ¹

Thus much we find in all St. Teresa's chief mystical books. The other part of the preparation for the Prayer of Quiet, however, St. Teresa appears to have distinguished only very gradually, and, when she first speaks of it, it seems to have less of the supernatural than in the later works. It is "a certain inward recollection (*recogimiento*) of which the soul is sensible" ² called in the *Mansions* the Prayer of Recollection.

Not dealt with separately at all in the *Life*,³ it first appears, though briefly, in 1565, in the *Way of Perfection*. Here, using the metaphor of the bees, St. Teresa thinks of it as something won by the soul :

At first it demands labour . . . but if we persevere for a few days and force ourselves to practise it, the benefits will become clear, and it will be found, on our beginning to pray, that the bees will come to the hive and enter it to make the honey. And this without any effort on our part, for the Lord will be pleased to reward the soul and the will by giving them the mastery in return for the time they have spent (in working for it). Then, when the soul merely shows by a sign its wish to be recollected, the senses will immediately obey it. They may wander again presently, but it is a great thing to have subdued them ; for they wander as it were captives and servants, and do none of the mischief which they were able to do before. And when the will recalls them they return the more quickly, until, after they have been recalled many times, the Lord is pleased that they should settle finally in perfect contemplation.⁴

The Prayer of Recollection, however, is clearly

¹ *Vida*, chap. xv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 110).

² So *Relaciones*, v (1576) (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 31-2) : "Es un *recogimiento* interior, que se siente en el alma."

³ The "other places" where St. Teresa says (*Moradas*, iv, chap. 3 ; *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 59) that she has treated of this prayer are presumably the *Vida* (chap. xvi), *Camino de Perfección* (chaps. xxviii, xxix) and the *Relaciones*. In the description of the Second Water (*Vida*, chap. xiv ff.) *recogimiento* is mentioned frequently together with *quietud*, but no distinction is made between two *grados de oración* bearing those names. This may be due to the obscurity of Osuna, upon which comment has already been made.

⁴ *Camino*, chap. xxviii (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 131-2).

defined in both the *Relations*¹ and the *Mansions* : in the latter work a long chapter is devoted to it. We learn from the *Relations* that it is "supernatural"—"that which no effort or skill of our own, however much we labour, can accomplish, though we should prepare ourselves for it, and that preparation will be of the greatest service."² In the *Mansions* it is even more objective :

There is another manner of prayer which almost always precedes the Prayer of Quiet . . . a recollection (*recogimiento*) which I think is also supernatural ; it depends on naught that is external—on being in darkness or on closing the eyes—for the eyes close of their own accord and the soul desires solitude. Without any artificial aid, it seems that the temple is being raised for the prayer of which I spoke, for the senses and outward affairs appear to be losing their hold, while the spirit is recovering that sovereignty which it had lost.³ They say that the soul enters within itself, or sometimes that it rises above itself : I can make nothing clear, however, in such language as this.⁴

No doubt the apparent divergences are due to the Saint's own widening experience and advancement in the mystical life. The fifteen or sixteen years which elapsed between the *Book of her Life* and the *Mansions*

¹ *Relaciones*, v (1576).

² *Relaciones*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 31). St. Teresa begins : "La primera oración que sentí, a mi parecer sobrenatural. . . ." Why then, since she distinguished it so clearly, and had herself experienced it, does she not make of it a distinct Mansion ?

³ Very noteworthy is the Spanish use of the continuous form here, the full force of which it is difficult to bring out in translation.

⁴ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 59). Cf. also below, *ed. cit.*, p. 61. The reference is probably to Osuna's *Tercer Abecedario* (bk. ix, chap. 7, N.B.A.E., p. 429) : "Estas dos cosas : entrar el hombre en sí mismo y subir sobre sí, o retraerse el ánima en sí, o subir en alto, son las dos cosas mayores que se hallan en este ejercicio. . . . El entrar en sí se hace con menos trabajo que no el salir sobre sí, etc." St. Teresa's words are : "Dicen que el alma se entra dentro de sí, y otras veces que sube sobre sí. Por este lenguaje no sabré yo aclarar nada, que esto tengo malo, que por el que yo lo sé decir, pienso que me habéis de entender, y quizá será sola para mí." There are other traces here of Osuna's influence, e.g. *ed. cit.*, pp. 60-1 : "Paréceme que he leído, que como un erizo o tortuga, cuando se retiran hacia sí. . . ." ; from the *Tercer Abecedario*, bk. vi, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., p. 384) : "Muy bien se puede comparar al hombre recogido al erizo, que todo se reduce a sí mismo, y se retrae dentro en sí, no curando de lo de fuera."

were years of increasing richness and fulness¹; and it was long before even the writing of her *Life* that she first learned of Recollection and Quiet from Osuna. In each of her descriptions she makes it clear that the Prayer of Recollection is inferior to the Prayer of Quiet because it implies less of absorption in the Divine. "Recollection does not require that we forsake meditation, nor must the understanding cease to work because the water comes direct from the spring."² The faculties retain their full powers, to occupy them with God³:

When His Majesty wills that the understanding shall cease to work, He occupies it after another manner, illumining it in a knowledge so far above any that we can attain to of ourselves, that it is wholly absorbed in Him; when, without knowing how, it is instructed far more perfectly than by our efforts. Since God gave us then our faculties (*potencias*) to work with, and all that we do will have its reward, let us not endeavour to charm them, but allow them to do their office, till God gives them an office that is higher.⁴

In the Prayer of Quiet, on the other hand, the will, as we have seen, is for the time being in union with God, and the spirit abandons itself in the arms of love.

The Prayer of Recollection may thus be described as the outer court of the fourth Mansions, and, in one sense, as the gateway to the mystical life. It is the point at which the soul leaves the attractions of the world, which have become to it mere playthings, and mounts to higher spheres. "It seems that the soul rises from its toys, for such, it sees, are all things of the world now. It rises opportunely, and, as one that enters a strong castle that it may no longer have to fear its adversaries, it withdraws the senses from these outward things."⁵ To take another figure, this Prayer is a closing of the eyes that the soul may neither see, nor hear, nor understand aught

¹ See, e.g., *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 56); *Cartas*, 205, 305.

² *Moradas*, iv, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 63).

³ "Aquí no se pierde ningún sentido ni potencia, que todo está entero; mas estálo para emplearse en Dios" (*Relaciones*, v; *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 32).

⁴ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 65).

⁵ *Camino*, chap. xxviii (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 131).

but that whereon it is intent—the supernatural converse with God in the Prayer of Quiet.¹

The fifth Mansions, identified by St. Teresa with the “cellar of wine” of the Canticles,² are termed the Prayer of Union. In them, for the first time, the soul is asleep.³ “There is no more certain manner of knowing if we have attained to union in our prayer than this. Do not think that this degree of prayer is a kind of drowsiness (*cosa soñada*), like that preceding it (I say ‘drowsiness,’ because the soul appears to be slumbering (*adormecida*), being neither completely asleep nor yet awake). In this prayer of union the soul is fast asleep, both to the things of this world, and to itself; for in truth it remains as it were senseless for the short time the prayer lasts, without capacity so much as for thought even if it so wished. No artifice is necessary to suspend the thoughts; even if the soul can love, it knows not how nor whom it loves, nor what it would desire. In fact, it has completely died to this world, to live more truly in God.”⁴

This Prayer of Union is in the main identical with the third Water,⁵ which was described in the *Life* as “most clearly a union of the whole soul with God,” “a sleep of the faculties”; “to me it is nothing but a death to the things of this world and a fruition of God.”⁶ “It is good (for the soul in this state) . . . to abandon itself

¹ So the important *Relación* v already alluded to (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 32): “The soul, it seems, desires to withdraw from the tumult caused by the senses that are without (*de los bullicios exteriores*); and so it draws them away after it, for it desires to close the eyes, and neither to see nor hear nor understand aught save that wherein it is occupied in that state, namely, converse with God alone.”

² *Moradas*, v, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 75).

³ Cf. *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 117).

⁴ *Moradas*, v, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 70–1).

⁵ In the actual description of the third Water, it is referred to, rather vaguely, as “union,” which, as we have seen, and shall see again, is too indefinite a term to be of great service. But many times, elsewhere in the *Life* (e.g. xxv, xxvii *passim*), the references to *oración de unión* leave no doubt in my own mind that this third Water corresponds to the Fifth Mansions. At the same time, the correspondence is apt to be complicated by the two states allied to the Prayer of Union which are described by the Saint in her *Life*, and discussed above, pp. 159–60. The student may be referred to Poulain’s *Graces of Interior Prayer*, *ed. cit.*, p. 536.

⁶ *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 118), chap. xvii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 124).

entirely in the arms of God ; if He will take it to heaven, let it go ; if to hell, it cares not, since it is going there with its only Good. If an end is to be put to its life, even so it wills ; if it is to live a thousand years it wills that equally : let His Majesty do as it pleases Him with His own. It no longer belongs to itself ; it is given wholly to the Lord : let it cast away all care.”¹

We frequently learn that the Prayer of Union is of but brief duration. “ It is ever brief, and seems to the soul to be far briefer even than it must in reality be.”² “ It lasts but for a little time . . . never, as I think, for so long as half an hour.”³ Yet St. Teresa as frequently reminds us that the experience, once known, can never be obliterated by time. Years may pass before it occurs again—it may never, indeed, be repeated—but the soul can neither forget it, nor doubt for a moment of its reality.

For so long as it lasts, the Prayer of Union consists in the complete possession of the soul by God, “ in so close a union is it with the will of God that there is no longer any division between Himself and the soul, but their will is one.”⁴ The faculties of the soul are wholly occupied in God : the understanding would fain sing of Him but is powerless : often the *desatinos santos* of the third Water—words, apparently meaningless and unconnected, “ unless the Lord Himself puts them together ”—escape from the soul, which would “ make all partakers of its joy, for it cannot endure such great bliss.”⁵

Frequently, if not invariably, this inward and spiritual

¹ *Vida*, chap. xvii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 123).

² *Moradas*, v, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 73).

³ *Moradas*, v, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 80). Cf. *Moradas*, v, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 94) (“ Podemos decir que es así esto, porque pasa en brevísimo tiempo ”) ; *Relaciones*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 32) (“ Por aquel breve espacio se pierden : pasa presto ”).

⁴ *Conceptos*, chap. iii (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 239).

⁵ *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 118) : “ Háblanse aquí muchas palabras en alabanzas de Dios, sin concierto, si el mismo Señor no las concierta ; al menos el entendimiento no vale aquí nada : querría dar voces en alabanzas el alma, y está que no cabe en sí ; un desasosiego sabroso. . . . Aquí querría el alma que todos la vieses y entendiesen su gloria para alabanzas de Dios, y que la ayudasen a ello, y darles parte de su gozo, porque no puede tanto gozar.” Cf. p. 159, above.

joy affects the body also, though, even as late as the time of the *Conceptions* and the *Mansions*, St. Teresa is uncertain whether the body is necessarily in a state of trance. "So deep is this tranquillity of soul, that even breathing exhausts it."¹ "The soul seems to have left the body, to abide more truly in God, so much so, that I do not even know if it retains life enough to continue breathing. As I think the more on the matter, I believe it does not ; in any case, if it does, it is unconsciously."² In one of the *Relations* the Saint even goes so far as to identify the Prayer of Union with a state of trance (*suspensión*), but it is unlikely that she meant the identity to be absolute.³

The "reptiles" which occasionally invade the fourth Mansion, and in the outer Mansions are so serious a menace, have no power in this—indeed, they rarely enter :

There is less occasion for poisonous things to enter : a few little lizards may get in, for they are lively creatures, and find their way everywhere. But they do no harm, especially if no heed be paid to them, for they are the fleeting thoughts which proceed from the imagination, and this, as I have said, is often importunate.⁴

I shall dare to affirm [adds the Saint] that, if this is in reality union with God, the devil cannot enter nor do any harm. For His Majesty is so closely joined and united with the essence of the soul, that the devil will not dare to approach nor can he comprehend these secret things.⁵

By the beautiful and delicate similitude of the silkworm St. Teresa develops her description of the Prayer of Union.⁶ The silkworm is the loving soul which feeds upon the mulberry leaves growing in the garden of Holy Church, until it has reached such fulness as is possible

¹ *Conceptos*, chap. v (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 254).

² *Moradas*, v, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 71).

³ "*Arrobamientos y suspensión*, a mi parecer, todo es uno, . . . y verdaderamente también se puede llamar suspensión esta unión que queda dicha" (*Relaciones*, v). It seems more than likely that the confusion is one of language, and those who wish to study the matter should do so in the original. Lewis's translation, for example (4th edition, p. 480), reads "union" for *arrobamiento*, instead of "rapture," which alone is sufficient to lead the student astray. See below, p. 197.

⁴ *Moradas*, v, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 71).

⁵ *Moradas*, v, chap. i (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 71-2).

⁶ *Moradas*, v, chap. 2.

to its immaturity of being. Once full grown, it begins to spin the silken house in which it must die : " And ye too are dead, your life hid with Christ in God." ¹ Then, after its short imprisonment, it emerges a butterfly—transformed.

None of St. Teresa's renowned images moves her to greater depths of emotion than this. " See then, my daughters, let us hasten to accomplish this work and spin the cocoon, renouncing self-love and self-will, being bound to nothing on earth, practising penance, prayer, mortification, obedience, and all the other good works which we know. . . . Die ! die ! like the silkworm when it has done the work for which it was created, and you will see God and be buried in His greatness, as the little silkworm is in its cocoon." ²

Once transformed, the very soul does not know itself : look at the difference between an ugly worm and a white butterfly—it is the same here. It knows not how it has deserved so great good (or rather, how the good has come, for it knows well that it deserves it not at all). It finds itself anxious to praise the Lord, to throw off this mortal life, to die a thousand deaths for God. Then of necessity it begins to suffer great trials, without the possibility of doing otherwise. It has burning desires for penance, for solitude, for all to know God ; and to see how He is offended troubles it greatly. . . . To see, then, the restlessness of this little butterfly ! (Yet it has never been quieter or more at rest in its life.) God is to be praised for that it knows not where to settle and make its abode ; such an abode has it had that all it sees on earth leaves it discontented, especially when God gives it often of these graces, for then almost every time it gains something new. It sets no store by the things it did when still a worm—to wit, the gradual weaving of the cocoon. It has wings now : how then can it be content with crawling slowly along, since it can fly ? All that it can do for God seems little, by comparison with its desires. It sets little store by the sufferings of the saints, having learned by experience how the Lord helps and transforms a soul, so that it seems no longer itself, nor even its own likeness. For the weakness which it seemed to have before in doing penances

¹ St. Teresa's quotation of Col. iii, 3.

² *Moradas*, v, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 79). She adds the reminder : " Mirad que digo, ver a Dios, como dejo dicho, que se da a sentir en esta manera de unión."

is now turned to strength ; no longer has it the ties of relationship, friendship or property which neither acts nor determinations sufficed to loosen but seemed only to bind the more firmly : now it is grieved at having to do what is necessary in order not to sin against God. It is fatigued by all this, for it has found that there is no true rest in the creatures.¹

The Prayer of Union belongs to a period of the mystical life which embraces, or immediately follows, the state of Illumination. We have considered it already, both under the same and under other titles. It must not, of course, be confused with that highest state of Union which is described in the seventh Mansion, though the name here given to it is not altogether inappropriate, for it brings those who experience it to the threshold of the Unitive Life. To writers who use the imagery of the *Song of Songs*, it is known as the Spiritual Betrothal. Teresa loved that book, but she had small Latin,² and whether for that reason, or because her own common images of everyday life appealed to her more than Oriental exuberance of metaphor, she seldom quotes from it, save (most effectively) in the *Conceptions of the Love of God*. She does, however, in the *Mansions*, make the comparison between the Prayer of Union and the Spiritual Betrothal, though, it may be thought, with less than her usual felicity.

I think that this Prayer of Union is not so advanced a state as that of the Spiritual Nuptials. It is rather as if two persons are contemplating marriage. They discuss whether both are agreed, and truly in love with one another, and they see each other sometimes, that each may have satisfaction of the other. Thus it is here : we suppose that the agreement has been made, and that the soul understands quite well how happy is her lot ; she is determined to do the will of her spouse in all things wherein she

¹ *Moradas*, v, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 80-1).

² In the introduction to the *Conceptions* (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 213-4) she says : " For some years the Lord has granted me great sweetness (*un regalo grande*) whenever I hear and read a few words from the Songs of Solomon, to such an extent that, though I understood not clearly the Latin in the vernacular (*romance*), I became more recollected thereby, and my soul was more deeply moved, than by the most devout books which I understand." For her ignorance of Latin, see below, pp. 223-4, and Gaston Etchegoyen, *L'Amour Divin*, etc., pp. 33-4.

may please Him, and His Majesty, Who will well understand if this is really so, wishes also to please her. Thus He grants her this grace, for He desires that she may understand Him better, that they may often (as we say) have sight of each other, and that He may unite her with Himself. We may speak of it in this way, for it all takes place in a very short space of time. The betrothal has never again to be made, and the soul sees, after a secret manner, Who this Bridegroom is that is to be hers : in no wise could she understand, through her own senses and faculties—no, not in a thousand years—that which here she comprehends in a very little while. So wondrous a Bridegroom is this that, after this one brief visit, He leaves her more worthy of being united with Him (as we say), and the soul is left with such love for Him that she, on her part, does all that she may, lest the Divine Nuptials should not be completed.¹

The sixth Mansions or “vistas de esposos”² are characterized at once by greater favours³ and greater afflictions. No such state is described under the similitude of the Waters, for we have ascended to a higher level than any in the *Life*. Much, nevertheless, is said, in the *Life*, of the trials borne in the mystic regions by the soul which suffers a “sweet pain” in which it nevertheless delights, finds itself harassed by the necessity both of maintaining human existence, and of experiencing many griefs which it had not before suspected. “It would fain see itself free : eating is death to it, sleeping a torment . . . nothing can give it contentment but Thee.”⁴ Or again : “O my true Lord and Glory, what a light yet most heavy cross hast Thou prepared for those that reach this state ! Light, for it is sweet ; heavy, because there come times when there is no patience that can endure it—and yet the soul would never of her will be free from it, except that she may find herself with Thee.”⁵

¹ *Moradas*, v, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 94).

² *I.e.* the state in which the betrothed “have sight of each other” [see preceding quotation in text]. The application of the term is P. Silverio’s (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. xx), who writes aptly on this state of “incipient union.”

³ The supernatural favours which are described under the Sixth Mansions are dealt with in the following section, where they may more conveniently be considered.

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xvi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 119).

⁵ *Ibid.*

Such experiences, such feelings were familiar to the Saint at all stages in her progress. As time went on, she would seem to have known them more intensely at a stage succeeding the Prayer of Union, and she therefore groups them with all but the highest spiritual consolations in the sixth book of the *Mansions*.

Psychologically, the "sweet pains" which St. Teresa describes throughout her works would be attributed to reaction, and the depths of this state of increasing trials are no doubt in some sort determined by the heights of exaltation reached in the Prayer of Union. "The soul is wounded with love for her Spouse ; she endeavours more than before to be alone, and to withdraw, as far as her state permits, from all that can disturb this solitude. That sight of her Lover which she has been granted is so deeply engraven upon her spirit, that all her desire is in the fruition of Him yet once again."¹

The Bridegroom, knowing that the soul has to reach a still higher degree of perfection than her present state, hears in silence, yet with pain, her cry for their speedy reunion.² Pain, indeed, is the keynote of the chapter : trials, which are to purify the soul and fit her to be "all but for ever in union with God,"³ press in upon her from every side. "Sometimes," cries St. Teresa, "I fear that, were they realized beforehand, it would be hard for (our) human weakness to bear them or to resolve to meet them, however great might appear the future gain."³

Some of these trials are wholly external, and in no sense mystical at all⁴ : the opposition of good people who accuse the mystic of professing over-much piety in order to deceive the world ; the reproaches of friends, which are ever the bitterest of reproaches ; the difficulties raised by confessors "so cautious and inexperienced . . . as to fear or suspect all but the commonplace"⁵ ; and, worst of all, praise which is undeserved and undesired. To these trials, which at first cause intolerable suffering,

¹ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 99).

² *Moradas*, vi, chaps. 1, 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 100, 108).

³ *Moradas*, vi, i, 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 100).

⁴ *Moradas*, vi, i (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 101 ff.).

⁵ *Moradas*, vi, i (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 102-4).

the soul after a time becomes quite indifferent, if indeed they do not cause her actual joy. Paroxysms of bodily anguish, too, are among the trials of the sixth Mansions, and of these St. Teresa knew more than most of her readers ¹ :

The Lord is accustomed to give the soul severe bodily infirmity. This is a much greater trial, especially when acute pain accompanies it, and if the pain is very great, I think it is the hardest trial on this earth. I mean by this, the hardest of exterior trials, for the severest pains can penetrate our inward being likewise.²

Yet to say this is not to chafe at physical infirmity—which indeed is to be welcomed. “The Lord will lead some by another way,” says St. Teresa, “but I would ever choose the way of suffering, if only to imitate our Lord Jesus Christ, and if there were naught else to be gained thereby, whereas there is much.”³

The inward trials are far greater, yet the more ardently desired in proportion as they increase. For they are the very wounds of the Divine Lover : “When Thou wilt, Lord,” she cries, “Thou dost quickly heal the wound Thou hast inflicted : till then there is no hope of healing, nor of joy, save that which comes from suffering for so great a cause ! O true Lover ! how compassionately, how sweetly, with what delight and consolation, and with what exceeding great signs of love dost Thou heal these wounds, which with the arrows of love itself Thou hast inflicted.”⁴

At times the soul is completely overwhelmed by these trials. More than ever she longs to be freed from them by the attainment of complete union in Heaven, begging God with tears to take her to Himself out of this weary exile. Only when alone does she find some slight alleviation from her grief, which soon returns once more.⁵

¹ See pp. 138–9, above.

² *Moradas*, vi, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 102).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See *Exclamaciones*, xvi (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 290–1).

⁵ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 6 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 137) : “(Tiene) unas ansias grandísimas de morirse, y así, con lágrimas muy ordinarias, pide a Dios la saque de este destierro. Todo la cansa cuanto ve en él : en viéndose a solas tiene algún alivio, y luego acude esta pena, y en estando sin ella no se hace.” Cf. the poems *Vivo sin vivir en mí* with their significant refrain : “Que muero porque no muero.”

Yet since these wounds are wounds of love the soul would not have them heal of themselves. The paradox is impossible of explanation : even the image of fire is insufficient to draw out the hidden fulness of the mystic's experience :

I was just thinking that it is as if from the burning furnace (which my God is to me) a stray spark (*alguna centella*) flew out into the soul, so that it felt the heat of this blazing fire, though this spark were insufficient to consume it. The heat is full of comfort, yet the soul feels the pain which is caused. This I think is the best comparison I have been able to make, for the pain, which is so welcome—and is in reality not pain at all—at times lasts long, at others is soon gone, according as God wills to grant it. It is not procurable by any human means ; now it stays, now it goes, and now returns again.¹

For the space of many chapters St. Teresa remains on the threshold of the innermost Mansions. At last she leads us into the Presence Chamber of the King, and we read of the consummation of the Spiritual Betrothal—the Marriage of the Soul and the Divine Lover. It is an experience too sublime for description. “ I have been in great confusion,” she says, “ wondering if it would not be better to finish writing of this Mansion in a few words, lest it should be imagined that I know of it by experience.”² For in the seventh Mansion dwells only the King : “ it may be called another Heaven.”³

At first it would seem that this Mansion is in darkness, so great is the force of the Divine light.⁴ Outward illumination there is none, yet all is light notwithstanding. For “ by some manner of representation of the truth, all three Persons of the most Holy Trinity reveal themselves, after an illumination which first penetrates the spirit, like a cloud of most dazzling light. The three Persons appear to the soul as distinct from each other,

¹ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 108-9).

² *Moradas*, vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 180).

³ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 180) : “ Una estancia, adonde solo su Majestad mora, y digamos otro cielo.”

⁴ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 180-1). This is an element of mystical thought which we shall shortly meet again in another and a more highly developed form. It was not, as will be seen, original.

yet the soul comprehends, by a wondrous communication, that these three Persons are in veriest truth one substance, one power, one knowledge and one only God. So that which we hold by faith, the soul in that state understands, we may say, by sight, though it sees neither with the eyes of the body nor with those of the soul, this being no imaginary vision.¹ In this state all the three Persons reveal themselves to the soul, and talk with it, and make it to comprehend those words which the Gospel records as the words of the Lord, that He and the Father and the Holy Spirit will come and dwell with the soul that loves Him and keeps His commandments.”²

This great experience has not the full perfection of the Beatific Vision of Heaven,³ but it is so surpassingly wonderful as to seem like nothing less. It is complete transformation, perfect peace. This Mansion alone is free from even the noise made by tumults and wild beasts. The self is extinguished : “there is a self-forgetfulness so great that the self truly appears not to exist.”⁴ The soul is entirely occupied with the things of God, and desires naught but His wishes, which are its own. It would gladly suffer, if God sends it suffering ; but if not, it no longer complains, or believes itself to be forgotten. Even the desire to die and be with Christ, before so all-consuming, is gone : it is exchanged for the simple desire to do His will whatever it be :

That which astonishes me most of all is that whereas aforesaid the soul was in affliction and distress till it should die and have fruition of our Lord, now its desire is equally great to serve Him, and through its service to bring Him praise, and to bring profit to some other soul if it may : not only is the desire to die gone, but instead the soul desires to live, for very many years suffering the severest trials, if the Lord thereby may be praised, even ever so little.⁵

¹ For the use of this term, see pp. 191 ff., below.

² *Moradas*, vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 182). The reference is to St. John, xiv, 23.

³ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 185).

⁴ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 193).

⁵ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 194).

Of her own experience of the Seventh Mansions St. Teresa writes in detail—not only in the *Mansions*, where she says that she “is in this state, and has been so for some years,”¹ but also in the *Relations*, in which may be found, under the date 1581,² a long description corresponding very closely to that in the *Mansions*. Some extracts may be cited :

The imaginary visions have ceased, but it seems that this intellectual vision of the Three Persons and of the Humanity,³ which, I think, is a very lofty matter, continues all the time. . . .

My acts and desires seem not to have the same force as they were wont to have. Great as my desires are, by far the strongest is that the will of God may be done and His glory be the greater. My soul understands well that His Majesty knows what is expedient for it, and is so far aloof from self-interest, that these desires and acts quickly cease. . . .

One thing astounds me : I can no longer feel the excessive inward grief which was wont to torment me when I saw souls lost, and I considered if I was in aught offending God, though I think I desire no less that He should not be offended. . . . I no longer need to converse on this with learned men, nor to speak of it to anyone at all.

I have inward peace, and joys or sorrows have little power to take away, in any lasting fashion, this Presence of the three Persons, which I so surely enjoy. . . . My surrender to the will of God is so complete that, except for brief intervals, when I desire to see God, I wish neither for death nor for life.

But how, it may be asked, does this supreme experience—the “kiss of the mouth” of the Bridegroom in the *Song of Songs*⁴—differ from the last degree of Prayer in the *Life*⁵ and from the Spiritual Betrothal,

¹ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 189–90).

² *Relaciones*, vi (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 39–42).

³ For the use of these terms, see pp. 191 ff., below.

⁴ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 198).

⁵ The fourth Water is certainly not identical with the Spiritual Marriage. Between writing the *Libro de su vida* and the *Moradas*, St. Teresa had been granted experience of a higher state than she knew when the earlier book was written ; she had been permitted to experience the last degree of prayer more deeply, intensely and continuously. The fourth Water is (1) a brief experience (*Vida*, chap. xviii : “ Cuando estuviere media hora es muy mucho ; yo nunca, a mi parecer, estuve tanto ”) whereas the spiritual nuptials are “ para siempre ”

which are described in very similar terms? The difference is one both of kind and of degree. Of degree, because the Union of the Marriage is, as its name implies, no passing, occasionally repeated experience, but an almost¹ continuous one :

“ Day by day the soul marvels yet more greatly, for she believes that They [the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity] will never depart²; she sees, with certainty, . . . that They dwell in the centre, in the depths, yea in the very inmost depths (*en lo muy muy interior*) of her being; she cannot for want of learning explain how, but she feels within herself that Divine Companionship.”³

But in the betrothal “ although its union is to join two things and make them one, they can be separated again and remain apart.”⁴ The same applies to any kind of union, save only this Spiritual Marriage, where “ the soul remains ever with its God in that central mansion.”⁴

To such an extent is this true that the difference between Betrothal and Marriage becomes one of kind : a transformation which *cannot* of its very nature be dissolved. Two or three typical symbols explain this :

The soul—that is, the spirit of the soul—becomes and is one thing with God, Who is Himself spirit. . . .

We may say that the union (of the fifth Mansions) is like that of two wax candles, the tips of which touch so closely that

(*Moradas*, vii, chap. 2 : “ Siempre queda el alma con su Dios. . . . No habrá medio de apartarse ”). (2) Dignified with no name, in many respects hardly differing from the third Water; many phrases and passages might be applied to either. (3) Spoken of with far less of reverence and devotion than that great and consummate mystery of the Innermost Mansion. “ Esta oración,” we read, “ no hace daño por larga que sea; al menos a mí nunca me le hizo, ni me acuerdo hacerme el Señor ninguna vez esta merced, por mala que estuviese, que sintiese mal, antes quedaba con gran mejoría ” (*Vida*, chap. xviii; *Obras*, vol. i, p. 134). It is even possible (*cf.* also p. 162, above) for one who has been admitted to it to turn back and give up prayer altogether—so possible, indeed, that St. Teresa spends several pages imploring him not to. (*Vida*, chap. xix.)

¹ “ Almost,” because (vii, chap. 4; *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 201) there are occasional short disturbances (“ at the most, of a day or very little more ”) when Our Lord leaves His spouse in her own natural state (*en su natural*).

² See *Obras*, *ed. cit.*, p. 128 : “ Aquí se le comunican todas tres Personas, y la hablan, etc.”

³ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 183).

⁴ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 187).

the light is one ; or that the wick, the light and the wax are all one, but the one candle can afterwards be separated from the other, and the candles remain two, or the wick may be withdrawn from the wax. But in this (the seventh) Mansion it is as if rain were falling from heaven into a river or a spring ; the water is one whole, and the river-water and rain-water can neither be divided nor separated ; or it is as if a tiny rivulet flowed into the ocean from which it cannot afterwards be divided ; or it is like a room with two windows through which enters a bright light—it enters in two parts but it becomes one and the same light.¹

More St. Teresa cannot say. Words and symbols alike fail her. She can only add, in the most emphatic language she knows, that the soul is completely and for ever transformed, completely abandoned to God.²

IV

Now that we have examined St. Teresa's descriptions of the Mystic Way, we may conveniently take note of a very important element in them—the place which she gives to physical and psychic phenomena. To deal with this in anything like detail would be to throw our whole study out of proportion, as well as to lay undue emphasis upon an aspect of mysticism which neither St. Teresa, nor her great contemporaries, held to be of the first importance. We shall therefore attempt to give only a brief and concise account of her teaching and experience of these phenomena, limiting ourselves to a few typical quotations from her writings, and taking separately and in turn visions (including locutions) and rapture (including ecstasy and trance).

St. Teresa's works are generally recognized as giving some of the fullest and most valuable information available on the subject of visions and locutions, especially on the latter. Her "whole mystic life was governed by voices : her active career as a foundress was guided by them. They advised her in small things as in great. Often they interfered with her plans, ran counter to her

¹ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 187).

² *Moradas*, vii, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 196–7), *et passim*.

personal judgment, forbade a foundation on which she was set, or commanded one which appeared imprudent or impossible. They concerned themselves with journeys, with the purchase of houses ; they warned her of coming events. She seldom resisted them, though it constantly happened that the action on which they insisted seemed the height of folly ; and though they frequently involved her in hardships and difficulties, she never had cause to regret this blind reliance upon decrees which she regarded as coming direct from God.”¹ It is therefore well worth our while to study her teaching on the subject of locutions, and on that of visions also.

In the first place, she is exceedingly aware of the risks of delusion, and lays down certain tests of the genuineness of locutions. The first is their effectiveness, or the power which they have on the soul² ; the second is the tranquillity, recollectedness and desire to praise God which they produce in the soul³ ; the third is that genuine locutions are not forgotten, but remain for long in the mind.⁴ She does not think it possible that any one who has had much experience of divine locutions can be led astray by diabolic guile, for the voice of God is not to be mistaken for anything else.⁵ Many people, however, have never enjoyed such experiences, and do not realize this. For some reason—generally the abnormal activity of their imagination—“they think that they see whatever is in their thoughts.”⁶ Or they “fashion speech with the understanding,” believing that they hear in an objective manner what really they are responsible for saying.⁷

¹ Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 331. Examples abound. See *Fundaciones*, chaps. i, ix, x, xv, xvi, xvii, xxiv, xxv, xxviii, xxix, xxxi (the most remarkable chapter of all) ; *Relaciones*, *passim* ; *Vida*, chaps. xviii to xx, xxix to xxxvi (*passim*), xxxix, xl. In *Vida*, chap. xxv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 191 ff.) she speaks of locutions as a “very ordinary” experience to her.

² *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 115-6). Cf. (in detail) *Vida*, chap. xxv, *passim*.

³ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 115).

⁴ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 115-6).

⁵ *Vida*, chap. xxv, *passim*.

⁶ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 9 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 163-4).

⁷ *Vida*, chap. xxv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 191-4).

St. Teresa divides genuine locutions into the usual three classes, according as they come from the "interior, superior or exterior,"¹ or, to use more technical language, according as they are imaginary, intellectual or corporeal² respectively. The most important of these are the intellectual, which speak directly to the soul, and always proceed from God Himself—never springing from the imagination³ and never, like corporeal and imaginary locutions, being the work of an angel.⁴ Intellectual locutions "take place in the depths of the soul, and are heard with the hearing of the soul, so clearly, that . . . the soul is assured and certified that the devil has no part in them."⁵ They are of a nature which cannot satisfactorily be explained to those who have not experienced them : much more is implied by them, for example, than by the words actually heard, and it is impossible for the soul to avoid listening to them.⁶

Of locutions in general, St. Teresa says that they "consist of words perfectly formed, not heard with the bodily ears, but comprehended far more clearly than if they were so heard. . . . When we desire not to listen to ordinary talk, we can stop our ears or attend to some other thing, so that we may hear without understanding. But in this talk of God with the soul there is no other way but to listen, whether I will or no."⁷ Even if what the soul hears is painful it is compelled by God to understand : distraction is impossible to it.

¹ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 115) : "Que venga de lo interior, que de lo superior, que de lo exterior." The Benedictines of Stanbrook (*Interior Castle*, p. 176) wrongly translate *interior* as "inferior," though they correctly call it "the inner depths" on p. 175.

² Exterior, corporeal or auricular locutions are actually heard by the ear ; the supernatural factor enters in their *production*. Interior or imaginary locutions are locutions of actual sounds, but they are received by the imaginative powers and not by means of the ear. Intellectual locutions consist in simple and direct communication of thought without the use of words. A similar distinction, made between the three kinds of vision, need not be laboured here. St. Teresa's own locutions were never exterior (*Relaciones*, iv ; *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 21-9).

³ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 119).

⁴ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 115).

⁵ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 118).

⁶ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 119-21).

⁷ *Vida*, chap. xxv (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 191-2). Cf. chap. xxvii (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 209-10).

Much that St. Teresa says of locutions, including the threefold division which she adopts in describing them, may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to visions. Several times—once near the end of her life¹—she says that she has never had a corporeal vision,² which indeed she regarded as an extremely perilous experience, and very likely to be a delusion.³ When it was first granted her to behold a vision with the eyes of the soul, however, she had not learned this, nor did she soon do so.⁴ This first vision came to her in her early years as a nun, years of comparative laxity, when Christ appeared to her *con mucho rigor*, giving her to understand that He was grieved with her. “I beheld Him,” she says, “more clearly with the eyes of the soul than I could have seen Him with those of the body, and so deeply was I impressed that though more than six-and-twenty years have passed, I seem to see Him present still.”⁵ This vision she would have had when about twenty-one years of age.

An imaginary vision of the Sacred Humanity, St. Teresa tells us, is the usual prelude to the Spiritual Marriage.⁶ But she knew such visions, of course, long before she was admitted to that state ; for a period of two and a half years, for example, she constantly received visions of the Humanity of Christ, and it would seem that this was as early as 1559–61. She describes some of these experiences in her *Life*. Once the Humanity of Our Lord was revealed to her at Mass, in the form in which He is portrayed after His Resurrection : “this vision was imaginary, for I saw it not, neither any other such, with the eyes of the body, but with the eyes of the soul.”⁷

¹ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 9 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 162).

² See also the quotation set out below from *Vida*, chap. xxix. At the Transverberation she says she saw the angel in bodily form (see p. 197, below), which fact might easily cause confusion in the minds of her readers.

³ Examples of visions sent to St. Teresa by Satan will be found in *Vida*, chaps. xxxi, xxxviii and elsewhere.

⁴ She did not learn it, in fact, till her meeting with St. Peter of Alcántara, who explained to her the difference between the various kinds of vision (*Vida*, chap. xxx).

⁵ *Vida*, chap. vii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 45, and see p. 45, note 1, on the passage above).

⁶ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 185).

⁷ *Vida*, chap. xxviii, where other imaginary visions are also described.

In the following chapter she describes other experiences of the kind :

Almost always our Lord revealed Himself to me as in His Resurrection Body, and likewise in the Host, except on a number of occasions when, to strengthen me, if I was in tribulation, He showed me His wounds, or His Body on the Cross, or in the Garden or wearing the crown of thorns—this very rarely ; or sometimes, now and then, bearing the Cross, for the sake of my necessities, as I say, or those of other people ; but always He appeared in His glorified Body.¹

Some of St. Teresa's imaginary visions are so graphically related by her, and find such close parallels in the corporeal visions of other mystics, that, did she not affirm the contrary, we should assume them to be corporeal. Such are the scenes where Christ transmutes the wood of her cross,² and that in which Our Lady gives her a necklace.³ The first of these may be transcribed :

Once when I was holding in my hand the cross which was on my rosary, He took it with His own hand from me. When He gave it back to me it was of four large stones incomparably more precious than diamonds. . . . It bore the marks of the five wounds admirably made. He told me that henceforward it would appear to me ever so ; and even so was it, for I never again saw the wood of which it was made, but only these stones. Yet nobody else saw it thus, save I alone.⁴

The imaginary vision is less likely to be a delusion than the corporeal, but least likely of all is the intellectual vision, for this is the most purely spiritual. It is of brief duration, often passing as quickly as a lightning flash, yet the impression which it makes on the soul is never effaced.⁵ It is frequently followed by ecstasy.⁶ But there is no doubt of the reality of the vision. The subject may allow himself to be temporarily persuaded of its

¹ *Vida*, chap. xxix (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 228).

² *Vida*, chap. xxix (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 230-31).

³ *Vida*, chap. xxxiii (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 280-81).

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xxix (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 230-31).

⁵ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 9 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 162).

⁶ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 9 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 162). Cf. *Vida*, chap. xxviii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 218).

falsity by others, but the absolute certainty that it is genuine always returns to him.¹

Intellectual visions are described by St. Teresa in great detail ; she first experienced these (before imaginary visions came to her) when she was about forty-five years of age. In the twenty-seventh chapter of her *Life* she gives a very full account of a vision of Christ, "which I saw, or rather felt, for I saw nothing either with the eyes of the body or of the soul." An account of her interview with her confessor concerning this vision follows. It was no imaginary vision, clearly, and yet it was more than a consciousness of the Presence of God, for it was something clearer than sight : "I can understand and be assured of it," she says, "more clearly than if I had seen Him." "It is a communication so celestial, that however much I say I cannot explain it fully—only the Lord can teach it by experience."²

In the *Mansions* we learn that intellectual visions are "unlike imaginary ones, which pass quickly, for they last many days, sometimes even for more than a year."³ They bring a special sense of God's nearness at all times. "Whenever she [St. Teresa] desired to speak with His Majesty in prayer (or even when not at prayer) He seemed to be so near her that He could not fail to hear her." "She felt that He was at her right hand, though not with the senses, in the way that we feel a person to be near us—yet nevertheless with the same certainty and sureness."⁴

We have kept till last a description of the vision most commonly associated with St. Teresa, namely an imaginary vision of the Transverberation of her Heart. It first happened (for, as many readers and non-readers of the *Life* forget, it was an oft-repeated experience) on or near the 27th of August in the year 1559. The description is best given in the words of the Saint herself :

¹ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 9 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 164).

² *Vida*, chap. xxvii (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 208 ff.).

³ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 8 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 156). Cf., on the same subject, *Vida*, chap. xxxvii, *passim*.

⁴ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 8 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 157). Cf. *Relaciones*, iv (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 28-9).

It pleased our Lord that I should see the following vision a number of times. I saw an angel near me, on the left side, in bodily form. This I am not wont to see, save very rarely. . . . In this vision it pleased the Lord that I should see it thus. He was not tall, but short, marvellously beautiful, with a face which shone as though he were one of the highest of the angels, who seem to be all of fire : they must be those whom we call Seraphim. . . . I saw in his hands a long golden spear, and at the point of the iron there seemed to be a little fire. This I thought that he thrust several times into my heart, and that it penetrated to my entrails. When he drew out the spear he seemed to be drawing them with it, leaving me all on fire with a wondrous love for God. The pain was so great that it caused me to utter several moans ; and yet so exceeding sweet is this greatest of pains that it is impossible to desire to be rid of it, or for the soul to be content with less than God.¹

In writing of rapture, St. Teresa makes fewer distinctions than in the foregoing descriptions. "Rapture or ecstasy or what they call flight of the spirit or transport—it is all one. I mean that these different names refer all to the same thing, which is also called ecstasy."² We shall therefore use throughout the word rapture (*arrobamiento*), which is the term she most favours.

St. Teresa's first and continual care is to indicate the prevalence of delusions, and to warn those for whom she is writing against them. She declares that she is considering true raptures, not the imaginings of weak

¹ *Vida*, chap. xxix (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 234). Cf. the poem beginning "En as internas entrañas," for long attributed to St. Teresa (see e.g. Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa*, ed. cit., vol. iii, p. 138, Poesías, 26) but now known not to be hers.

² *Vida*, chap. xx (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 145) : "Arrobamiento, o elevamiento o vuelo que llaman de espíritu, y arrebatamiento, que todo es uno. Digo que estos diferentes nombres todo es una cosa, y también se llama éxtasi." Cf. also *Relaciones*, v, and *Moradas*, vi, chap. 4, *passim*. "Cuando suspende Dios el ánima en la oración con arrobamiento, o éxtasis, o rapto, que todo es uno a mi parecer. . . ." "Arrobamientos y suspensión, a mi parecer, todo es uno, sino que yo acostumbro a decir suspensión, por no decir arrobamiento, que espanta" (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 33). Cf. also *Vida*, chap. xx (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 146), p. 181, n. 3, above. Yet she distinguishes, in *Relaciones*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 33-4), between *arrobamiento* ("rapture") and *arrebatamiento* ("transport") ; the difference, according to her, seems to correspond approximately to that between ecstasy and rapture in other writers. It is largely a matter of nomenclature, however, and the distinctions are hardly worth dwelling on.

women.¹ At the risk of the criticism that she "sees danger in everything,"² she cautions her readers against all deceivers and deceived. Some believe that they have experienced raptures because their health is so weak that they cannot receive the smallest spiritual favours without being overcome by them. "They think they enjoy *arrobamiento*," says St. Teresa, playing upon the word, "and I call it *abobamiento* (foolishness)! They do nothing but waste their time at it and ruin their health."³ Even when rapture is genuine, St. Teresa warns her readers, it should not be desired for its own sake, especially in the presence of other persons, still less should it be paraded or even spoken of before others.⁴ The result of such self-indulgence as this might easily be to make inexperienced persons think rapture to be a virtue or a reward for living a holy life. The highest virtue, says St. Teresa ever and again, is not in visions but in obedience.

At the same time, she has no wish to despise such real manifestations of God's love as come through true rapture, if only because it brings to the soul the best humility.⁵ Yet "some people seem frightened when they even hear of visions and revelations."⁶

While she condemns false and foolish imaginings, she gives many directions to those who have progressed so far in prayer as to know the joys of rapture, and encourages them to advance in grace.

Rapture cannot, except in rare cases, be resisted by the subject⁷: "there comes a rapid and violent impetus, and you see and feel it as a cloud or as a powerful eagle

¹ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 123-4): "No flaquezas de mujeres, como por acá tenemos, que todo nos parece arrobamiento y éxtasi." Cf. also *Fundaciones*, chap. viii (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 67-8).

² *Moradas*, vi, chap. 6 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 140).

³ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 66).

⁴ E.g. *Vida*, chap. xx, *passim*.

⁵ *Vida*, chap. xx.

⁶ *Fundaciones*, chap. viii (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 64).

⁷ Cf. *Vida*, chap. xxii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 172). "He bears away (*arrebata*) the spirit as a giant would take up a straw, and resistance is useless." A striking personal experience in this connexion is related in *Vida*, chap. xxxviii (*Obras* vol. i, pp. 329-30).

catching you up in its wings. . . . You see yourself carried away—whither, you know not.”¹ The experience is somewhat alarming, especially at first, to any but a very resolute nature, not only from fear of delusion, but from the sense of utter helplessness which in its early stages accompanies it. St. Teresa used at times to offer such resistance as she could to the oncoming of a rapture, especially when she was with others ; but so strong was the visitation that her resistance was seldom effectual, and at times (as happened also to others in a like state) her whole body was raised from the ground.²

The occasions on which St. Teresa had personal experience of these favours were very numerous. Some of them she describes in her *Life*,³ and at the same time points out certain characteristics of rapture. The soul appears to have gone from the body, often life seems extinct.⁴ The natural heat of the body departs. The subject loses all control ; he may sometimes be raised supernaturally as St. Teresa was, though more commonly he remains in exactly the same position as he was in when the rapture came. When the experience is over, the body may have a feeling of buoyancy and lightness ; in general, the subject feels unusually hearty and well. The mind, however, is disordered—“the will is so absorbed (*embebida*) and the understanding so carried out of itself (*enajenado*) that for a day, or even longer, the person seems unable to comprehend aught but that which awakens the will to love.”⁵

During the period of rapture the soul is given visions of Christ, imaginary or intellectual,⁶ and like the nameless

¹ *Vida*, chap. xx (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 146).

² *Ibid.*

³ The first occasion, on which she heard Our Lord say to her : “I will have thee hold converse no more with men, but with angels,” is described in *Vida*, chap. xxiv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 188). Other occasions are referred to, not necessarily in chronological order, in *Vida*, chaps. xx, xxii, xxvii–ix, xxx–xl. See also *Relaciones*, *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 50, and (for others’ testimony) Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa*, ed. cit., vi, 171 ff.

⁴ The faculties are still active, it seems, but the soul does not know at first if the body is dead or not (*Moradas*, vi, chap. 5 ; *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 134).

⁵ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 129). The preceding description is from *Vida*, chap. xx, and *Moradas*, vi, *passim*.

⁶ Cf. *Moradas*, vi, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 134).

man of the Epistle to the Corinthians, hears "unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."¹ This is invariably the case—the rapture would else resemble a fainting fit or a swoon, and such so-called "mystical" experiences as this "are not raptures, but some natural weakness, which may attack persons of feeble constitution, such as women like ourselves."²

The length of a rapture varies. "At the beginning," St. Teresa tells us, "a rapture lasts no longer than for the twinkling of an eye (*no dura más que cerrar y abrir los ojos*), and is hardly felt, except in the effects which it leaves."³ Later its duration is more considerable, but this must never trouble the mystical soul for, the longer it lasts, the greater is the strength that God gives with it.⁴

At certain seasons, persons apt to experience raptures are visited by an irrational kind of jubilation and strange manner of prayer (*júbilos y oración extraña*).⁵ The lives of St. Francis and St. Peter of Alcántara⁶ are quoted as examples of this. It is of short duration—a day is considered its farthest limit—and seems to be connected with the state of mind which follows rapture. The subject is often taken for a madman, or at the least as having hysteria,⁷ but in reality the symptoms are quite unlike those of hysteria⁸ and would not be confused with them for long.

The after-effects of rapture are a curious state of detachment (*desasimiento*) which is not only spiritual but physical also. Besides the discomfort which such a conscious duality must produce in the subject, there is also felt a pain, hard to describe, but always recognizable. It is "sometimes greater, sometimes less," sharp and penetrating, accompanied by a great weariness of spirit,

¹ 2 Cor. xii, 1-4.

² *Moradas*, vi, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 127) and *passim*. Cf. p. 198, n. 1, above.

³ *Vida*, chap. xxii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 173).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 6 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 141).

⁶ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 6 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 142).

⁷ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 6 *passim*.

⁸ Which is described by St. Teresa, it may be remarked, in *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 53).

which is only increased by any supernatural alleviation of the pain. "The soul appears to be in the passages (*tránsitos*) of death, save that its suffering brings with it a great joy—I know not to what I can compare it."¹ There is an accompanying physical pain also: "Sometimes my pulses almost cease . . . and my shin-bones are racked with pain, and my hands become so stiff that at times I cannot join them. This pain lasts until the next day."²

This summary reproduces in brief most of the information given by St. Teresa upon the subject of raptures and visions. Of set purpose we have written little on this theme, and we have no desire to go outside what she herself records, nor to parade miracles as grotesque as some of those quoted by Fuente, and recorded, no doubt, in all good faith.³ We are not over greatly impressed by the well-known accounts of how St. Teresa wrote her *Mansions*—or of how parts of them wrote themselves—when she was in a super-normal state.⁴ It is their matter rather than their manner that attracts us, and one may perhaps be allowed to imitate St. Teresa's own reticence on the subject. But though some may think this an unsympathetic attitude, we have no desire to fall in any way below the Saint herself in the importance which we attach to abnormal phenomena. She believed whole-heartedly that many of her supernatural experiences were sent direct from God. We can hardly ourselves believe that they were not. As one who was the staunchest of Protestants, and yet the most fervent of her admirers, has said, the disbeliever in such happenings may be suspected of disbelief also in Christ's own words that both He and His Father will manifest Themselves to those who love Him and keep His words:

I am driven in sheer desperation to believe such testimonies and attainments as those of Teresa, if only to support my failing

¹ *Vida*, chap. xx (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 150; similar phrases elsewhere in the chapter).

² *Vida*, chap. xx (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 151).

³ E.g. Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa*, ed. cit., vol. vi, pp. 194 (sec. 30), 273-4.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 178-9, 223.

faith in the words of my Master. I had rather believe every syllable of Teresa's so staggering locutions and visions than be left to this, that ever since Paul and John went home to heaven our Lord's greatest promises have been so many idle words.

"It is open to any man to scoff," adds Dr. Whyte, "but I cannot any longer sit with them in the seat of the scorner."¹

V

There are those who, whether out of devotion to St. Teresa or from other motives, have desired to pay her the supreme literary honour to which any Spanish mystical author could aspire. They have credited her with the superb sonnet "To Christ Crucified" which has been placed at the head of all that is written in this book. External evidence alone renders her authorship highly improbable. The sonnet is found in none of the collections of poems attributed to St. Teresa, nor in any form which of itself suggests her authorship. It was not thought of as hers till more than two hundred years after her death. The form of the poem, too, is over-complicated for St. Teresa, who never (except possibly once, and in lines that are doubtfully hers) uses any Italian metre, preferring the traditional popular measures of Spain. The attribution to St. Francis Xavier depends on a Latin paraphrase of the poem (or what may be such) which is found in his letters. But, as has been abundantly demonstrated, many other hypotheses than that which it is sought to prove are deducible from the discovery of the Latin hymn. Other suggested authors are St. Ignatius of Loyola (the attribution to whom, however, is a late one), Fray Pedro de los Reyes, and (a quite recent suggestion) Fray Miguel de Guevara. The last guess seems the least unlikely, since the sonnet appears as his own work in a book undoubtedly his; and though the date of this is not earlier than 1638, the theory is the most

¹ Alexander Whyte, *Santa Teresa, an Appreciation*, pp. 25-6.

significant contribution to the discussion which has as yet been put forward.¹

Whoever may have written the poem, we need no external proofs to convince us that it is not St. Teresa's. The sentiments, it is true, might well have been uttered by her ; the masterly execution, however, places her authorship beyond the bounds of probability. Poet, indeed, she was, but her true medium was not verse, but prose. Very many passages in her prose works glow with the divine fire, a flame kindled first of all in the heart of the Divine Love. In prose she has free play : the torrent of inspired thoughts flows swiftly along, cutting a way for itself, unhindered, through landscapes of surpassing beauty. But, when she wrote verse, her inspiration was checked and pent up by restraints which she had never learned to master. So her lines go haltingly : her stanzas are weak and jingling. Hymns for use on special occasions she could write, and not infrequently did write, with tolerable success. Their poetic quality, however, is soon and surely estimated. Their only charms are an occasional striking simplicity and artlessness, a facility of expression, an apt refrain—the charms of the popular ballad. A typical example of such verses is the Christmas carol—the carol of the shepherds at the cradle—*Pues el amor* ² :

*Pues el amor
Nos ha dado Dios,
Ya no hay que temer,
Muramos los dos.*

¹ For a further discussion upon this matter the reader is referred to an article in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. ii, pp. 120-45, by its editor, M. Foulché-Delbosc, whose conclusions are wholly negative, inclining to the idea that the author may be some entirely unknown poet, and to Alberto María Carreño, *Joyas literarias del siglo xvii, encontradas en Méjico*, 1915, and P. Gregorio de Santiago, "El Padre Miguel de Guevara y el soneto 'No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte,'" in *Basilica Teresiana*, vol. vii, 1920, pp. 225-33.

² *Poesías*, xiii (*Obras*, vol. vi, pp. 95-6). The translation here given, apart from one stanza and two lines (bracketed), is that of the Benedictines of Stanbrook (*Minor Works*, pp. 43-5). The last line, however, would seem to be Llorente's rather than Pascual's.

Danos el Padre
 A su único Hijo :
 Hoy viene al mundo
 En un pobre cortijo.
 ¡ Oh gran regocijo,
 Que ya el hombre es Dios !
No hay que temer,
Muramos los dos.

Mira, Llorente,
 Qué fuerte amorfo,
 Viene el inocente
 A padecer frío ;
 Deja un señorfo
 En fin, como Dios,
Ya no hay que temer,
Muramos los dos.

Pues ¿ cómo, Pascual,
 Hizo esa franqueza,
 Que toma un sayal
 Dejando riqueza ?
 Mas quiere pobreza,
 Sigámosle nos ;
 Pues ya viene hombre,
Muramos los dos.

Pues ¿ qué le darán
 Por esta grandeza ?
 Grandes azotes
 Con mucha crueza.
 Oh qué gran tristeza
 Será para nos :
 Si esto es verdad,
Muramos los dos.

Pues ¿ cómo se atreven
 Siendo Omnipotente ?
 Ha de ser muerto
 De una mala gente.
 —Pues si eso es, Llorente,
 Hurtémosle nos.
 —No ves que él lo quiere,
Muramos los dos.

*Since love brought God to earth
 From heaven on high
 Naught should affright us more :
 Let us both die !*

God gives His only Son
 As gift to man :
 Born in a cattle-shed
 His life began.
 Lo, God a man becomes,
 Triumph most high !
*Naught should affright us more :
 Let us both die !*

[What love, Llorente, has
 Brought to the birth
 This tender, helpless Babe
 On the cold earth !
 God leaves His royal Home,
 Yonder on high :
*Naught should affright us more :
 Let us both die !*]

—Whence the love, Pascual,
 For us He bore,
 Changing His royal robes
 For serge so poor ?
 —Best loves He poverty ;
 In His steps hie !
 [For God is made a man :]
Let us both die !

What will men give to Him,
 Giver of all ?
 —Stripes from their scourges on
 His flesh will fall.
 Bitter our tears will drop
 With grief and sigh !
 —If this be sooth indeed
Let us both die !

He is omnipotent :
 How shall they dare ?
 —'Tis writ, from cruel men
 He death must bear.

—[Let us, then, hide the Babe]
 In secrecy !
 —Know'st not 'tis His own will ?
 —Then, let us die !

Or we may specify the particularly vigorous and not unmelodious lines of the hymn written for the nuns of Avila, when their serge habits were infested by insects. It was composed by St. Teresa, and sung by herself and the sisters, alternately, in procession, thus :

*Pues nos dais vestido nuevo,
 Rey celestial,
 Librad de la mala gente
 Este sayal.*

St. Teresa Hijas, pues tomáis la cruz,
 Tened valor,
 Y a Jesús, que es vuestra luz,
 Pedid favor :
 Él os será defensor
 En trance tal.

Coro. *Librad de la mala gente
 Este sayal.*

St. Teresa. Inquieta este mal ganado
 En oración,
 El ánimo mal fundado
 En devoción :
 Mas en Dios el corazón
 Tened igual.

Coro. *Librad de la mala gente
 Este sayal.*

St. Teresa. Pues vinisteis a morir
 No desmayéis ;
 Y de gente tan civil
 No temeréis,
 Remedio en Dios hallaréis
 En tanto mal.

Coro. *Pues nos dais vestido nuevo,
 Rey celestial,
 Librad de la mala gente
 Este sayal.¹*

¹ Poesías, xxxi (*Obras*, vol. vi, pp. 117-119).

*Since Thou dost give us habits new,
Great King, we urge
Thou may'st from evil gentry free
These robes of serge.*

St. Teresa. Take courage, daughters, since the cross
Ye do embrace,
And beg of Jesus Christ, your Light,
To grant you grace,
And He will be your sure defence
In conflict base.

Coro. O Lord ! from evil gentry free
These robes of serge !

St. Teresa. To earn disquiet by our prayer
Doth ill requite,
The while devotion from our soul
Swift wings its flight ;
But rest your heart in God, with His
Your will unite.

Coro. Do Thou from evil gentry free
These robes of serge !

St. Teresa. Since you have come that you may die,
Be not afraid
Nor by this gentry's courtesy ¹
Be you dismayed,
For in this combat sore, your God
Will be your aid.

Coro. Since Thou hast given us habits new,
Great King, we urge
That Thou from evil gentry free
These robes of serge.

But more often these verses of St. Teresa are prosaic in the extreme, saved only from utter worthlessness by their lofty sentiments and noble aims :

¹ Ironical. The meaning of *civil* in the context is "wretched," "miserable."

*Caminemos para el cielo,
Monjas del Carmelo.*

Vamos muy mortificadas,
Humildes y despreciadas,
Dejando el consuelo,
Monjas del Carmelo.

Al voto de la obediencia
Vamos, no haya resistencia,
Que es nuestro blanco y consuelo,
Monjas del Carmelo. . . .

*Let us journey on towards heaven,
Sisters of Carmel.*

Let us e'er be mortified,
Void of self-esteem and pride,
Flinging earthly joys aside,
Sisters of Carmel.

Vowed we ever to obey :
Let our wills not break away.
Be our vows our aim and stay,
*Sisters of Carmel.*¹

When they speak of the mystic's experience they have something of the eloquence of St. Teresa's finest passages in prose, but as a rule they are marred by conceits which are flourished before the reader in a way quite unworthy of their lofty theme, or by a rudeness which at once betrays the author's unskilled hand. Such are the faults of those best-known of her verses which play on the ideas of physical and spiritual life and death, and begin :

*Vivo sin vivir en mí,
Y de tan manera espero
Que muero porque no muero.*

Esta divina prisión
Del amor con que yo vivo,
Ha hecho a Dios mi cautivo,
Y libre mi corazón :
Y causa en mí tal pasión
Ver a Dios mi prisionero,
Que muero porque no muero.

¹ *Poesías*, x (*Obras*, vol. vi, p. 91).

*I live, yet live not in myself.
And, as in such a plight I sigh,
I die because I do not die :*

In this my cell of love divine—
Prison of love whereby I live—
My God to me Himself doth give,
A captive, while in freedom I.
But as I burn in that blest state
My captive Lord to contemplate
*I die because I do not die.*¹

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The same faults, it must be admitted, are perceptible, if less so, in the *villancico* which by those who read it in translation may be thought to mark St. Teresa's nearest approach to great poetry. It may be thought, too, that the original is less felicitous than the version (quoted below) of the Benedictines of Stanbrook, but at least it deserves to be better known than it is :

¡Oh Hermosura que excedéis
A todas las hermosuras !
Sin herir dolor hacéis,
Y sin dolor deshacéis
El amor de las criaturas

Oh ñudo que así juntáis
Dos cosas tan desiguales,
No sé por qué os desatáis,
Pues atado fuerza dais
A tener por bien los males.

Quien no tiene ser juntáis
Con el Ser que no se acaba :
Sin acabar acabáis,
Sin tener que amar amáis,
Engrandecéis vuestra nada.²

O Beauty, that doth far transcend
All other beauty ! Thou dost deign,
Without a wound, our hearts to pain—
Without a pang our wills to bend
To hold all love for creatures vain.

¹ *Poesías*, i (*Obras*, vol. vi, pp. 77-8).

² *Poesías*, vi (*Obras*, vol. vi, p. 85).

O mystic love-knot, that dost bind
 Two beings of such diverse kind!
 How canst thou, then, e'er severed be?
 For bound, such strength we gain from Thee
 We take for joys the griefs we find.

Things void of being, linked unite
 With that great Beauty infinite.
 Thou fill'st my soul which hungers still:
 Thou lov'st where men can find but ill:
 Our naught grows precious by Thy might!¹

St. Teresa would herself hardly have been moved by such criticism as we have passed—or, indeed, by any criticism passed from the literary standpoint upon her verses. She never claimed the title of poet—in all probability never dreamed that she would figure in Spanish literature. She did not even think of herself as a writer, nor aim at consciously artistic composition. “My style is so heavy,” begins the *Book of the Foundations*, “that in spite of my wishes I fear I shall weary others and myself as well.”² Most of her books were written unwillingly, under obedience³; many of them at irregular intervals and amid various kinds of distraction⁴; all of them with a moral and spiritual aim and no other. Of form she recked little. “It is a long time,” she will remark unconcernedly, “since I wrote the last pages, and I have had

¹ *Poestas*, vi (*Obras*, vol. vi, p. 85).

² *Fundaciones*, Prólogo (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 3–6). The whole prologue is instructive.

³ See the opening words of the *Life*: “I should desire, as they have commanded me, and given me full permission, to write concerning the manner of prayer, and the favours which the Lord has granted me. . . .” The *Foundations* begins: “I was commanded . . . to write of the foundation of that monastery, and of many other things.” And the Preface to the *Mansions* begins: “Few things, which have been commanded me by obedience, have been so difficult for me to do, as to write now concerning prayer.”

⁴ *E.g.* “It seemed to me impossible, on account of my being occupied with numerous business matters—both letter writing and other necessary occupations—these things having been commanded me by prelates. . . .” (Prologue to *Fundaciones*). “The little time at my disposal is of small avail to me . . . for I have to live with the community and have numerous other occupations . . . and so what I write is of necessity set down without continuity, a little at a time” (*Vida*, chap. xiv; *Obras*, vol. i, p. 104). Cf. Ribera (*op. cit.*, iv, 5): “All these books she wrote when busied with many matters, and had exceedingly little time.”

no opportunity to return to the book, so that I cannot remember what I said unless I read it all over. To save time I shall have to write what comes from my mind, without any proper connection.”¹ This gives one a fair idea of how her works were written—in odd moments, whether of inspiration or merely of temporary leisure, with no thought to anything save that they should be profitable to those who read them. In one of the mystical passages of the *Life*, there is a pathetic little phrase, the simple eloquence of which needs no elaboration. “This,”—referring to a metaphorical passage—“can be well understood by such as have intelligence, and they will be able to apply it more clearly than I can explain it,—and I grow tired.”²

We shall no more expect, then, to find artistic perfection in her prose than in her verse. Not merely is she unlearned in philosophy,³ but (according to her own self-estimate) she has none of the qualities which make a writer. She refers constantly to her ignorance,⁴ her weakness of memory,⁵ her stupidity,⁶ and frankly con-

¹ *Camino*, opening of chap. xix (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 87).

² *Vida*, chap. xvii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 124).

³ *Camino*, chap. xix (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 89): “Mucho valiera aquí poder hablar con quien supiera filosofía; porque, sabiendo las propiedades de las cosas, supiérame declarar, que me voy regalando en ello y no lo sé decir, y aun por ventura no lo sé entender.” Cf. her remarks about learning in *Vida*, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 28).

⁴ E.g. *Vida*, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 77): “Este lenguaje de espíritu es tan malo de declarar a los que no saben letras como yo. . . .”

Moradas, i, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 16): “Son tan oscuras de entender estas cosas interiores, que a quien tan poco sabe como yo, forzado habrá de decir muchas cosas superfluas y aun desatinadas, para decir alguna que acierte.”

⁵ E.g. *Fundaciones*, chap. vii (*Obras*, vol. v, p. 59): “Paréceme que en un librico pequeño dije algo de esto, no me acuerdo: poco se pierde en decir algo aquí, si el Señor fuese servido que acertase.”

Vida, chap. xi (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 77): “Paréceme ahora a mí, que he leído u oído esta comparación, que como tengo mala memoria, ni sé adónde, ni a qué propósito; mas para el mío ahora conténtame.”

Moradas, ii (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 23): “Lo he dicho en otras partes bien largo, y será imposible dejar de tornar a decir otra vez mucho de ello, porque cosa no se me acuerda de lo dicho.”

Moradas, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 53): “Como tengo poca memoria, irá todo desconcertado, por no poder tornarlo a leer.”

⁶ *Moradas*, iii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 31): “Soy torpe en este caso.” iv, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 48): “Soy muy torpe . . . gran cosa es el saber y las letras para todo.” (Cf. also *ed. cit.*, p. 49.)

fesses herself incapable of expressing in words what she would.¹ She declares again and again that for every reason, save that she has been *commanded* to write, she is totally unfitted for doing so. "Why do they want me to write?" she said to Gracián, when he importuned her to write the book now known as the *Mansions*. "Let learned men who have studied write, for I am stupid and shall not know what I say. I shall put down one word after another and simply do harm. There are enough books written on prayer: for the love of God, let them leave me to my distaff and the choir and the offices of religion, like the other sisters. I am not a writer: have neither the health nor the head for it."²

If her works, then, have come down to us as literature, it is as literature *malgré elle*. "My memory is so poor" (*por tener yo poca memoria*) ends the preface to the *Foundations*.

My memory is so poor, that I think many important things will be left out, and others will be told which could well be spared: in fact it will be of a piece with my scanty abilities and rudeness of style (*mi poco ingenio y grosería*), and the little peace I get for writing.³

I am like one who hears a voice from afar off, but although hearing the voice cannot distinguish the words; for at times I do not understand what I say, yet it is the Lord's pleasure that it should be well said, and if at times I talk nonsense that is because it is natural to me to do nothing well (*no acertar en nada*).⁴

Just as birds who are taught to speak know only what they are shown or what they hear, and repeat that many times, exactly so am I.⁵

The Lord knows how full of confusion I am in writing on

¹ I have thought it well to give the text of these self-estimates in Spanish, lest I should be accused of exaggerating their force in translation. Of the extracts which follow in the text, I give the essential phrases in the original language.

² The account is Gracián's own (*Fuente, Obras de Santa Teresa, ed. cit., vi, 402-3*).

³ *Fundaciones*, Prólogo (*Obras*, vol. v, pp. 5-6).

⁴ *Camino*, chap. vi (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 35).

⁵ *Moradas*, Prólogo (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 5). Cf. also iii, chap. i, and *ed. cit.*, p. 31.

some of these subjects (*El Señor sabe la confusión con que escribo mucho de lo que escribo*): may He be praised for His patience in bearing with me.¹

Nevertheless, even the most exacting critic can take lessons of one kind or another from this "confused" writer.

The most striking characteristic of St. Teresa's writings from the standpoint of literature is the richness and variety of her images. This can only be explained in one way. Throughout her life, even in moments of leisure and recreation, her imagination was ever in her Master's hands, to be shaped and moulded by Him for His glory. Not only could a visit to the Duchess of Alba (an occasion long to be remembered) furnish her with illustrations to a theme²: half an hour's walk would yield her parables enough for a book. She, at least, can draw rich spiritual profit from Nature.³ The *palmito*, which Andalusian children grub up, strip of its leaves and eat, becomes to her a symbol of the mystic life.⁴ The first attempt of some tiny bird to leave its nest suggests the need of the soul for a wise director.⁵ Some straws blowing in the wind are utilized in a description of the Prayer of Quiet,⁶ and again in an account of the sixth Mansions.⁷ The sky seems to attract St. Teresa less than it attracts

¹ *Camino*, chap. xxv (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 118). Cf. the opening words of chap. xv (*ed. cit.*, p. 69): "Confusión grande me hace lo que os voy a persuadir . . . etc."

² *Moradas*, vi, chap. 4 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 126 ff.).

³ *Vida*, chap. ix (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 65): "It profited me also to behold the fields, the water, and the flowers, for in these things I found memorials (*hallaba yo memoria*) of the Creator: I mean that they awakened me, and recollected me, and were to me as a book."

⁴ This is one of her most important symbols. "In the *palmito* we find many outer rinds which surround the tasty part, and must be removed before we come to the portion which can be eaten. Even so, around this inmost Mansion are many mansions more, and above it likewise" (*Moradas*, i, chap. 2; *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 16).

⁵ "By the example of the flight (of a wise director) we ourselves venture to fly, even as the tiny birds, who are taught by their parents: they cannot quickly soar, but little by little they imitate their parents" (*Moradas*, iii, chap. 2; *Obras*, vol. iv, p. 42).

⁶ *Vida*, chap. xv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 111).

⁷ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 5 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 132).

the "two Luises,"¹ and in general she draws less profit from the great sights of Nature—mountains, valleys, roads, forests and the like²—than from Nature's accidents. A wayside ditch starts a train of thought upon mortal sins and false virtues, and a mud wall supplies an illustration of humility.³ And the familiar ass—let us quote St. Teresa's own words: "I think the soul is like a little donkey, at pasture, which crops its food and eats almost without thinking of it."⁴

This fondness for images grew upon St. Teresa with age, and it is in her *Mansions* that we find the most pregnant of them all. Especially lavish is she of similitudes drawn from living creatures. Here, again, she prefers the smaller to the greater.⁵ There is little in her works of horses, dogs, or cows—much of birds and of insects. "I believe," she says, "that in each tiny creature that God has made, be it but a little ant, there is more than we understand."⁶ And an apocryphal passage on the earthworm⁷ seems to us so characteristic of St. Teresa's manner that were it not for strong internal evidence to the contrary we should regard as wholly genuine the letter in which it occurs.

Birds, bees and butterflies figure again and again in the Saint's expositions, until they seem to become an almost essential part of them. The powers of the soul in the Prayer of Quiet are beautifully compared to doves, which, "not content with the food that is given them from the dove-cote without effort on their part, go and seek food elsewhere, and have such ill-success that they return."⁸ From time to time the bird strays from its

¹ See, however, an arresting metaphor in *Moradas*, vi, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 107) where the quickening of the soul by God is described as comparable in its effects to a flash of lightning or (in a revised form of the work) a clap of thunder.

² We must except rivers, streams and springs—any form, indeed, of water. Cf. p. 153, above.

³ *Camino*, chap. xxxviii, *passim*.

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xxx (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 246).

⁵ See p. 66, above.

⁶ *Moradas*, iv, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 54).

⁷ Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa*, vol. iii, pp. 222–8 ("Escritos atribuidos," vii).

⁸ *Vida*, chap. xiv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 102).

nest, striving by reason and imaginings to attain to heights impossible to its strength ; then it is that " the Lord comes and takes this little bird and puts it back in the nest that it may rest there." ¹ The soul of the mystic, indeed, is not unlike a bird " which flies here and there finding no place to rest." ²

The bee teaches industry and humility, prudence and ambition—a comprehensive symbolism !

Let humility ever be at work, like the bee in the hive making honey : without this, all is lost. But let us consider that the bee does not neglect to fly out in search of flowers, and even so should the soul leave the hive of self-knowledge and soar upward from time to time to meditate upon the greatness and majesty of God.³

Let the soul remain in fruition of that favour [the Prayer of Quiet], and recollected like the prudent bee ; for if no bees entered the hive, but all of them left it to wander about after each other, the honey could with difficulty be made.⁴

As to the butterfly, it is used so many times that quotation is impossible. But a classic example may come under this heading.⁵ One day, St. Teresa learns of the process by which silk is produced. She has never heard this before, and it makes a deep impression upon her.⁶ But the idea which germinates is a spiritual one ; it takes root in her mind, springs up and grows, and before long finds expression in one of the noblest passages of the *Mansions*, a passage of which a part has already been quoted.

¹ *Vida*, chap. xviii (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 133).

² *Moradas*, vi, chap. 7 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 153).

³ *Moradas*, i, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 17). Cf. also v, chap. 2, *passim*.

⁴ *Vida*, chap. xv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 110).

⁵ The chief are in *Moradas*, v, chap. 2 ; vi, chaps. 4, 6, 11, and vii, chap. 3, but there are many more examples in almost every book. It is generally the soul that is compared to the butterfly, and the above paragraph will indicate how apposite is the figure, but an equally apt comparison is with the faculty of memory (" esta mariposilla importuna de la memoria," *Vida*, chap. xviii) which is so prone to stray in the lower stages of the mystic life. Cf. also p. 160, above. It will be remembered that in some of her letters St. Teresa speaks of the nuns of the reform as " butterflies."

⁶ *Moradas*, v, chap. 2, see pp. 181-3, above. The working out of the image occupies most of the chapter.

Like many greater writers, St. Teresa had the habit of thinking in images, and it is partly her apt and lavish use of them which makes her so easy, and even entertaining, to read. Againt and again a simple comparison makes some abstract matter perfectly clear, and St. Teresa, though apparently confusing her metaphors, can pass from picture to picture without sacrificing any of her clearness. Look, for example, at the passage in the early part of the *Mansions* where the novice (one had almost said the "traveller") is urged before proceeding farther to consider the dreadful effects of sin. Here we have first an amassing of metaphors, then a playing upon two or three of them. At one point it is hard to say if the soul is a stream or a tree, but the thought beneath the images is never lost.

Before we go farther I wish you to consider what happens when mortal sin invades this beautiful, resplendent castle, this pearl of the east, this tree of life, planted in the living waters of life—that is, in God. There is no gloom so murky, no darkness so black, but that this is vastly more so. You need only know that the very sun, which is still within the soul, and which gave it such splendour and beauty, is as if it were not, for all the soul knows of Him, though it is as meet to enjoy His fulness as is the crystal to shine in the sun. . . .

Like as all the streams which flow from a crystal spring are themselves crystal-clear, so is also the soul in grace ; its works are well-pleasing in the eyes both of God and of man, for they flow from the source of life in which the soul is planted as it were a tree. Did it not proceed thence it would bear neither leafage nor fruit, for the waters sustain it, and water it, and cause it to bear good fruit. And thus from the soul which through its sins leaves the living waters and grows in a dark and noisome pool all that proceeds is foul and filthy like itself. You must note here that it is not the source—not the brilliant sun within the soul—that loses its beauty and splendour, for that it has always and nothing can take it away. It is as if a perfectly black cloth had been thrown over a crystal which was in the sunshine ; the sun may shine on it indeed, but its brilliance cannot reach the crystal.¹

Another illustration may be taken from the same

¹ *Moradas*, i, chap. 2.

chapter : the subject is the virtues of true humility. Here we have, not a sustained figure, but a succession of images chosen singly by the writer, each to make one point. To attempt to place the metaphors (which are italicized below) in one composite picture leads to absurdity ; we must either invent a succession of pictures, or else turn the metaphors into plain, imageless prose :

I repeat, then, that it is good—nay, it is excellent—to *enter the room of humility* first, rather than to fly to the other rooms, for *this is the right road*. *If we can travel along this safely and easily, why need we ask for wings with which to fly?* Let us seek to make the greatest progress in the way we are going. . . . I think we shall never know ourselves until we have endeavoured to know God, for . . . by considering His humility, we shall find how far we are ourselves from being humble.

There are two advantages in so doing. First, it is clear that *anything white placed near black seems far whiter*, and that *black seems the darker against white*. Secondly, our understanding and will become nobler and more inclined to all good, when they turn from themselves to God ; we do ourselves despite *if we never rise above the mire of our own wretchedness*. As we were saying of those in mortal sin, *how dark and noisome are the streams of their lives* ; so here . . . while *we are sunk in earthly misery, the stream of our life will never leave the mire* of fear, weakness and cowardice. ¹

The second great quality of St. Teresa's style is its simplicity and directness. She may, indeed, when a girl, have composed a chivalric romance, as her biographer Ribera would have us believe,² but there is no trace, in her maturer works, of the peculiarly extravagant affectations which marked this class of fiction. Rather there is an abhorrence and a conscious avoidance of anything not straightforward and simple. Her style is as devoid of pedantry and oratory as of affectation. She aimed at writing exactly as though she were speaking, that is, as the ordinary person spoke in the Old Castile of the sixteenth century. A Spanish critic, in an

¹ *Moradas*, i, chap. 2.

² See p. 136, note 1, above.

excellent little monograph on St. Teresa's language,¹ remarks that in all her work there are fewer than twenty words which can properly be called learned (*cultas*), thus : éxtasis, paroxismo, hipocresía, pusilánime. And even these words she wrote in their popular, everyday forms : estasi, parajismo, yproquesia, pusilamine. She frequently used popular, incorrect constructions or forms of words² ; Latinisms, Gallicisms and Italianisms, on the other hand, abundant as they were in her contemporaries' works, she completely eschewed.³ The two concomitants of familiar Spanish conversation—especially among women—are an excess of diminutives and a continual—frequently an effective—recourse to the superlative. Both diminutives and superlatives abound in St. Teresa, and this fact, together with the abnormal length of her sentences, and a conversational tendency to ellipsis, makes her one of the hardest writers to translate with any adequacy, though by no means the hardest to read. Her most eloquent pages are not those in which any subtle art of hers conceals art. They are those in which the torrent of her inspired thought has risen so overmasteringly as to overflow its usual bounds ; in which her love has poured forth in floods of words and the writer has committed them to paper as rapidly as they formed in her mind.⁴ From her very heart she wrote as from her heart she spoke : that was all her skill.⁵

¹ *El lenguaje de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, por D. Antonio Sánchez Moguel. Edición póstuma, Madrid, 1915 (the original work appeared in 1882). Among other interesting statistics, which are not wholly relevant here, he lists the words which St. Teresa uses and which the current Academy Dictionary marks as "antiquated." They are only fifty-five in number.

² E.g. metatheses like *naide* (nadie), *perlado* (prelado), *miraglo* (milagro), and false concords of verb and subject, which are by no means uncommon in her writings.

³ As Sánchez Moguel well puts it, her writings are "limpios de toda extranjería, de todo lo que no fuese castellano, y castellano viejo."

⁴ P. Silverio has some very interesting pages on St. Teresa's style, partly commenting those of others : *Obras*, vol. i, pp. lviii-lx, lxii, lxiv-v.

⁵ Fray Luis de León's prologue to St. Teresa's works, written in 1587, praises, and justly so, the "purity and facility of her style," and its "unaffected elegance," adding : "I doubt if there is anything to equal it in our language. Whenever I read her works I marvel afresh." The original runs : "Porque en la alteza de las cosas que trata, y en la delicadeza, y claridad con que las trata, excede a muchos ingenios : y en la forma del decir, y en la pureza, y facilidad

Since in this chapter only brief quotations from St. Teresa have been made, it may not be unwelcome if a continuous passage is added, which gives a very adequate impression of her style as a whole, as well as emphasizing, in particular, its peculiar artlessness and the use which it makes of images. This passage is one of the best known in the *Way of Perfection*, and, incidentally, of its author's many long references to her favourite subject of water.

So far as I remember at the moment, water has three properties—three, that is to say, which are to my purpose, for there must be many more. One is that of cooling : however warm we may be, a plunge into cold water cools us ; the fiercest fire, too, is extinguished by it, unless it be a fire of tar and oil, which it only kindles the more. God help me ! How wonderful it is that water should only increase that fire, when it is fierce, and powerful, and subject to none of the elements, and that the opposite element, instead of putting it out, should only make it the fiercer ! I could speak to much purpose of this, if only I were learned in philosophy ; because, knowing the properties of things, I should be able to explain myself, instead of amusing myself, as I do, with what I cannot express, nor perhaps even understand. If God leads you to drink of this water, sisters, you will appreciate this figure, as do those who now so drink, and you will understand how a true love of God, if it be strong, and entirely freed from earthly affections, rising far above them, is sovereign over all the elements of this world. And as water proceeds from the earth, you need not fear its quenching the fire of Divine love, which is in no way subject to it. The two elements are indeed contraries the one of the other, but the fire of love is absolute sole lord. Do not, then, be surprised, sisters, at the length at which I have spoken in this book of your gaining this same freedom.

Is it not an odd thing that a poor little nun of St Joseph's should obtain mastery over all the earth and the elements ? And how great a thing it is that the saints, by the grace of God, did what they pleased with them ! Fire and water obeyed St. Martin, the birds and fish St. Francis, and so with many other saints, who were clearly seen to possess this same power over earthly things because

del estilo, y en la gracia, y buena compostura de las palabras, y en una elegancia desaseitada que deleita en extremo, dudo yo, que haya en nuestra lengua escrita, que con ellos se iguale. Y así siempre que los leo, me admiro de nuevo." This, it will be recognized, is high praise, coming from one who was himself so great a writer.

they had striven to despise the world, submitting themselves and all their strength to its Sovereign Lord.

As I say, then, the water which rises from the earth has no power over the fire of Divine love, whose flames are very high and whose birth is in nothing so base. There are other fires of a weaker love for God, which any happening will extinguish ; but this is not of that number. For though a whole sea of temptations should come against it, they will never make it cease to burn, and it will get the mastery over them. If the water should rain from heaven, much less will this fire be extinguished : rather it will spring up anew. These two elements are not opposed to one another, for both have the same source. Do not fear that the one will harm the other : it will but increase its effect. For the water which comes from tears of true contrition, shed during genuine prayer, is a gift from the King of Heaven : it helps to feed the flames, and keeps them alight, while the fire helps to cool the water.

Ah, God help me ! How beautiful and wonderful a thing is this, that the fire should cool, and even freeze, all worldly affections, when it meets that living water from the heavens, which is the source of the tears afore-mentioned—tears which are God's gift, and not gained by our own diligence ! Indeed, this fire leaves no warmth in anything worldly, in which we might rest, unless it be something which may feed it itself. For, by its very nature, the fire is insatiable ; it would burn up the whole world in its flames, if it might.

Another property of water is the cleansing of things that are foul. What would become of the world if there were no water to wash in ? Do you realise how this water of life—of heaven—can cleanse, when it is clear and unsullied, unmixed with earthly clay, coming down to us from the sky ? Let the soul once drink of it, and it will most certainly be cleansed, and left clear and pure from all guilt. But, as I have said, God does not allow us to drink of this water (which is a thing beyond our will, since this Divine union is a most high and supernatural thing) ; rather it is intended to cleanse the soul, and to leave it pure and free from the mire and filth in which its sins had buried it. Other consolations (*gustos*), which come by means of the understanding, bring us water which has been running over the ground. It is not drunk directly from the source ; and there are never absent from the earth over which it runs certain muddy impurities which impede its flow : so that it is never so pure and limpid as the other. I do not call prayer which comes from the working of the understanding “living

water ” ; I say—and this is how I understand it—that, in spite of all our desires, something of the impurity of the river-bed always remains in our soul against our will, and this is fostered by our body and our natural self.

I will explain myself further. We are thinking, let us say, on the world and its brief duration and how it is to be despised ; almost without knowing it, we find ourselves immersed in the worldly matters which once we cared for. We strive to flee from these thoughts, but at least we are somewhat distracted by reflecting upon what happened, and what will happen, and what we did, and what we shall do. And the very thinking of how we can best disentangle ourselves from this sometimes sends us anew into danger. Not that we ought for this reason to omit such reflections ; but we must beware, and never be unwatchful. In the higher states of prayer the Lord Himself undertakes this care, willing not that we should trust to ourselves. Our souls are so dear to Him, that He will not let them mix with things that may harm them at a time when He wishes to bestow graces upon them, but He draws them at once to His side, and in a moment shows them more truths and gives them a clearer knowledge of the true worth of all things, than without Him they could gain in many years. For our sight is not clear ; the dust on our path blinds us ; so the Lord, in that higher state, brings us to the end of our day’s journey, without our understanding how.

The third property of water is to satisfy and quench the thirst, and by thirst is meant, I think, the desire for something that we greatly long for, and without which, were it entirely lacking, we could not live. It is a strange thing, that without water we cannot live, and yet that too much of it may kill us, as it does those who are drowned. Ah, my Lord ! That one might be plunged so deeply into this living water that life should come to an end ! And can this not happen ? Indeed it can ; love to God and desire for Him may grow so greatly that human nature can no longer bear it, and thus people have been known to die. I know of one myself in whom this living water was so abundant, that had God not succoured her speedily, her raptures had almost carried her out of herself. I say “ out of herself,” because the soul in this state is at rest. It appears to be overcome and unable to stay longer in the world, but it revives in God, and His Majesty so habits it that it may enjoy what it could not if it were left to itself without its life coming to an end.

Let it be understood of this state that, as in our Sovereign Good there is nothing that is not perfect, all that He does is for

our good ; and thus, abundant as this water may be, it is never in excess, for there cannot be too much of it. If it is abundant, He makes the soul capable, as I have said, of drinking deeply : just as a glass-maker fashions his vessels of the size he sees to be needful, that they may hold what he means to pour into them. When we desire it, being what we are, we are never wholly without fault ; if it brings us any good thing, that is as the Lord helps in it ; but we are so indiscreet that as this pain is sweet and pleasant we think we can never have too much of it. We long for it to excess, we nourish our desire as best we can in the state we are in, and at times the desire causes death. Happy such a death as this ! Yet perchance our living may help others to die with the desire of such a death. And this I think is the work of the devil, for he understands what harm such people do by living, and thus he tempts them with imprudent penances to destroy the health, which would bring him no little profit.¹

There never was a writer whose "sources" it was less profitable to study, except, perhaps, in the interests of the sources themselves. So far beyond Osuna, Laredo, St. Peter of Alcántara and the rest did St. Teresa travel that the fact that she studied and to some extent used their writings only invests them with the reflection of her glory. Those who desire to investigate the small learning which she professed and possessed may study with advantage a catalogue carefully compiled by Morel-Fatio.² But the total is so small ! Apart from the Bible and the contemporary Spanish sources³ she knew St. Augustine (chiefly the *Confessions*),⁴ St. Jerome, St. Gregory, the Lives of the Saints, the *Imitation of Christ*,⁵ and Ludolph of Saxony, the author of the popular *Life of Christ* to which allusion has already been made.⁶ After estimating the debts of the learned Osuna it is positively refreshing to realize the meagreness of St. Teresa's reading.

¹ *Camino de Perfección*, chap. xix (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 88-92).

² In an article entitled "Les Lectures de Sainte Thérèse" in the *Bulletin Hispanique* for 1908 (pp. 17-67). For contemporary testimony, see Fuente, *op. cit.*, vi, 231.

³ Osuna, Alonso de Madrid, Laredo, St. Peter of Alcántara, Luis de Granada, Guevara and perhaps St. Vincent Ferrer.

⁴ See p. 140, above.

⁵ I.e. the so-called *Contemptus mundi*. Cf. p. 40, above.

⁶ See pp. 5, n., 12, above.

The spontaneity with which she set down her thoughts on paper may perhaps explain what has puzzled many of her commentators, and shocked not a few¹: her apparent lack of familiarity with the Bible. While realizing that she was indeed not a learned woman, and read comparatively little, they at least expect that the Scriptures would have been her constant, even her only literary companion. They are at a loss to understand her reported reply to the novice who spoke of bringing a Bible—a reply which no doubt the girl's self-confident manner richly deserved: "Bible, child! You shall not come here then; we want neither you nor your Bible, for we are ignorant women, and do naught but spin and obey."² But chiefly they resent her ingenuous confessions of ignorance, which may well astonish an age of cheap and open Bibles:

Let (the Christian) be valiant, and not like those who laid themselves down to drink when they went to battle—I do not remember with whom.³

The same Lord also says: "No man cometh to the Father

¹ Especially the many Protestant writers who have recognized in the devotion and genius of St. Teresa something that transcends the barriers of creeds, much as Crashaw, a Catholic, recognized that she transcends those of nationality, and exclaimed (in his "Apology" for the "Hymn to the name and honour of the admirable Saint Teresa"):

O 'tis not Spanish, but 'tis Heaven she speaks,

and:

What soul so e'er in any language can

Speak heaven like hers, is my soul's countryman.

² Yepes, *Vida de Santa Teresa*, ii, 20 (*cf.* Yepes' letter to Luis de León, in Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa*, *ed. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 129). "¿Biblia, hija? no vengáis acá, que no tenemos necesidad de vos ni de vuestra Biblia, que somos mujeres ignorantes, y no sabemos más que hilar y hacer lo que nos mandan." But the biographer describes the girl, whom he personally knew, as "muy amiga de sermones y estaciones . . . muy bachillera y curiosa," and adds that she afterwards committed all kinds of absurd religious extravagances. No doubt St. Teresa realized that she was an unsuitable candidate for admission as soon as she saw her. Morel-Fatio (*op. cit.*, p. 26) thinks that the Bible would have been in Latin: this is very likely, though not certain; we can well see that, if it was so, St. Teresa's objection would have been to a precocious ostentation of learning which she thought unbecoming in a humble novice, and perhaps in any woman.

³ *Moradas*, ii, chap. 1 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 27), (Judges, vii, 1-8). It may be added that Gracián scored through the words "no me acuerdo con quién" from the MS.

but by Me" (I am not sure if He says it thus, but I think so), and :
 "He that seeth Me seeth the Father also." ¹

I think I read or heard somewhere, either that our life is hid in Christ, or in God (which means the same thing), or that Christ is our life. It matters little to my purpose which of these versions is correct.²

Once, when praying for His apostles, our Lord Jesus Christ asked (I cannot remember where this occurs) that they might be made one with the Father and with Himself.³

The explanation is that St. Teresa never stopped to think out the things about which she declared herself doubtful, placing more value in the spontaneity of her writings than in the exactness of quotations.⁴ And this makes us realize the extent of her knowledge of the Bible all the more (remembering that she could read no Latin ⁵) for it means that her frequent and varied Biblical allusions came into her mind as she wrote.⁶ To the Bible we owe infinitely more of her work than to any other book. In it she placed her implicit trust. It was the touchstone to her of truth :

Take no more heed of anyone's words if they disagree with the Scriptures than if you heard them from the demon himself. . . . Take them as a temptation against the Faith, and resist them till they leave you. And they *will* leave you, for they have little strength of their own.⁷

¹ *Moradas*, ii (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 29-30), (St. John, xiv, 6-9).

² *Moradas*, v, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 78-9), Col. iii, 3-4. Both the references are correct, but the vagueness of the allusion is strange.

³ *Moradas*, vii, chap. 2 (*Obras*, vol. iv, p. 189). The reference is to St. John, xvii, 21.

⁴ We have it on Gracián's authority, even apart from internal evidence, that she wrote very quickly : "lo escribía sin enmendar papel suyo de los que escribía, y con gran velocidad, porque su letra, aunque de mujer, era muy clara, y escribía tan apriesa y velozmente, como suelen hacer los notarios públicos" (Fuente, *Obras de Santa Teresa*, ed. cit., vi, 403).

⁵ This we learn from her writings again and again. It gives point to a striking reminiscence in *Vida*, xv (*Obras*, vol. i, p. 111). In *Cartas*, 358, she tells Gracián that as a certain Brief which has been given her to read is in Latin, which she cannot understand, she will wait till someone can be found to translate it to her. On this subject, see also p. 183, above.

⁶ Morel-Fatio (*art. cit.*, pp. 24-42) goes into this question in the greatest detail.

⁷ *Moradas*, vi, chap. 3 (*Obras*, vol. iv, pp. 114-5).

The only thing dearer to her than the Bible was in fact the direct revelation of our Lord. On one occasion the reading of certain books in Spanish had been forbidden, and Teresa, who could read them in no other tongue, was sad. Then Christ Himself spoke to her : "Be not troubled : I will give thee a living book." "And indeed," she confesses long afterwards, "His Majesty has been to me the Very Book in which I have read all truths. Blessed be such a Book, which leaves on me a clear impression of what I read and must do, in a way that cannot be forgotten." ¹

¹ *Vida*, chap. xxvi (*Obras*, vol. i, pp. 205-6).

CHAPTER V

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS¹

¹ References to the works of St. John of the Cross are made, unless otherwise stated, to the *Obras del místico doctor San Juan de la Cruz*, Edición crítica con introducciones y notas del Padre Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, C.D. (Toledo, 1912-4), three volumes, abbreviated "Obras." As volume one has the pagination of two volumes (pp. lxxx + 154 + 464) these two parts are referred to as Ia and Ib respectively.

For brevity, the main word only in the title of each book referred to is given. Thus : *Subida* (for "*Subida del Monte Carmelo*"). But it has been necessary to distinguish the *Noche oscura del sentido* from the *Noche oscura del espíritu*, by quoting their titles fully.

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I

ST. JOHN of the Cross (or, to give him his family name, Juan de Yepes) was born in 1542,¹ at Hontiveros, near St. Teresa's city of Avila. His father, Gonzalo de Yepes, was well descended, and the heir to a considerable fortune, but on marrying a poor orphan-girl he had been disinherited by his relatives. When John, the youngest of three brothers, was still a child, his unhappy mother was left a widow, and, after making several vain attempts at getting help from her husband's family, she moved to Medina del Campo. Here the boy grew up, without luxuries or even comforts, but with a rudimentary education of which he made the best possible use, and with sound religious instruction which he was quick to absorb and practise.²

The modern traveller, who knows Medina only as an important railway junction, or as an insignificant little town with a ruined castle standing in pathetic and isolated splendour, seldom remembers that in the sixteenth century it was a distinguished city and a busy and important centre of trade, with memories of Blanca de Borbón and Juana la Loca, and a favourite residence of Isabel la Católica, who died there. Among its many important buildings it contained a large hospital, the superintendent of which, hearing of the plight of the Widow de Yepes, offered to take little John, and, in return for his services, to put him to school. Here, then,

¹ Probably on St. John Baptist's Day. A fire in 1546 destroyed the parish church of Hontiveros, and with it the baptismal records.

² Various miraculous and semi-miraculous stories concerning his youth are told by the early biographers; the best known of these is that of his falling into the well at Medina and being preserved by Our Lady until help was brought him (see Jerónimo de San José, *Historia del Venerable Padre Fray Juan de la Cruz* (Madrid, 1641), bk. i, chap. iv; José de Santa Teresa, *Resunta*, etc. (Madrid, 1675), sec. 5, etc., etc.).

the boy went to live, and served his apprenticeship to charity, waiting on the sick, helping the poor, and attending a great school which had been established at Medina in 1551 by the Society of Jesus.

That so distinguished a figure among the Spanish mystics should have been trained, as a boy, in the Ignatian atmosphere is a fact which gives one cause to reflect.¹ Did he make his "election" while following the Spiritual Exercises? And—a more important question—did the methods of the Exercises influence his later development as a mystic? As to the former question, all that can be asserted with confidence is that he realized his vocation while still young. As to the latter, we can only contrast the systems of St. Ignatius and St. John of the Cross—the one with its attachment to images, symbols, meditations and so-called "contemplations" of imagination all compact, the other with its avoidance of all imaginings, its refusal to localize and materialize in the service of religious thought, its search for and pursuit of pure spirit. But it is impossible to suppose that the *Exercises*, which, as we have seen, are so profoundly mystical in their underlying spirit, did not shape his mind so as both to make it the more receptive of higher truth when this came in the shape of experience, and the more capable also of profiting by the study of mystical theology.

At about the age of twenty, Juan de Yepes left the hospital. The good superintendent, who had evidently grown attached to him, and was perhaps impressed by his piety, made no secret of his wish that he would study for the priesthood and later accept a benefice which was in his patronage, together with the chaplaincy and, perhaps, direction of the hospital. But Juan refused all this: it would seem that his vocation was by this time fixed. Further, we learn that one day, while he was at his prayers, there came to him what appeared to be a direct command from God. The words were strange and unexpected—so strange, indeed, that at first the boy was at a loss to understand them. "Thou shalt serve

¹ Cf. J. Baruzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix*, etc. (Paris, 1924), pp. 89-94.

Me in an Order whose former perfection thou shalt help to restore.”¹ What could such a message mean?

It is easy now to interpret the words as an evident call to join St. Teresa's reform : at that time, however, her work was little known—it had hardly begun. All that the youth could understand was a clear and definite call to the religious life. He chose—for what reason is not known—the Order of Carmel, and, on St. Matthias' Day, 1563, received the habit in the monastery of St. Anne at Medina, taking the name John of St. Matthias.

The next year he made his profession, and, soon afterwards, went to study at Salamanca. There was a Carmelite College in that city called St. Andrew's, but it seems that he studied at the university itself, and this for four years, from 1564 to 1568.² Practically nothing but what is conjectural can be written of his university career ; in particular it is regrettable that nothing is known of his relations, if he had any, with Luis de León, who, as will be seen in a later chapter, was a professor, first of theology (1561) and later of Biblical Criticism (1565) while John of St. Matthias was a student.³

Contemporary testimony abounds to the austerity of the life of Fray Juan at Salamanca. It would seem that he thirsted for a stricter life than as yet he had found, and, while still a student, had thoughts of leaving the Order of Carmel to become a Carthusian. But during the Long Vacation of 1567 he met St. Teresa at Medina del Campo, where Antonio de Heredia, who was the Carmelite prior there, was discussing plans with her for the foundation of a reformed house for men. The

¹ “Servirme has en una Religión cuya perfección antigua ayudarás a levantar.” Jerónimo de San José, *op. cit.*, bk. i, chap. iv ; José de Santa Teresa, *op. cit.*, § 6.

² The chronology of this period has been closely studied by M. Baruzi (*op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff.), and, though it is impossible to come to conclusions which are not open to objections of some kind, his own interpretation of the data seems the most satisfactory one.

³ See Baruzi (*op. cit.*, pp. 130–33), who adds : “Mystérieuse énigme que les rapports de ces deux hommes. Luis de León meurt le 23 août 1591, Jean de la Croix meurt le 14 décembre 1591. A la fin de leur vie, ils sont unis dans une même lutte contre ceux qui voudraient amollir la Réforme de Tère de Jésus ” (p. 133).

Seraphic Mother, skilled in reading character, was struck with the earnestness and zeal of the young friar. With but little questioning he accepted her charge, and St. Teresa, now that she had two friars to aid her, "considered the matter settled" and the first house as good as founded.¹

It would seem natural that Fray Juan should now give up his studies, but the facts appear to be that he went back to Salamanca for another year. Why, after all, should he not? St. Teresa had her friars, but no house to lodge them in, and it was advisable that the time should be well spent until she found one.

Fray Juan was now twenty-five years old: frail and worn by the life of austerity which he had lived, first from necessity and then from choice, since his childhood: so small of stature that St. Teresa characteristically said she had found not two friars, but "a friar and a half."² But she said of him also much more:

Although small in stature I know he is great in God's eyes. We shall certainly miss him sorely here,³ for he is prudent, and well fitted for our life, and I believe him to be called of God for it. No friar but speaks well of him, for his religious life, though short, has been one of great penitence. The Lord is clearly guiding him. We have had some differences in business matters, and I have been so far wrong as to be vexed with him, yet we have never seen the least imperfection in his conduct.⁴

¹ St. Teresa's own words are as follows: "Shortly afterwards there chanced to come there a father who was young, and was still studying in Salamanca. A companion of his, who came with him, told me great things of the life which this father led: he was called Fray John of the Cross. I praised our Lord, and when I spoke with Fray John I was very much pleased. I learned from him that he desired to join the Carthusians. When I told him what I purposed to do, and begged him urgently to wait until the Lord should give us a monastery . . . he gave me his word to do so, provided that the delay was not great. When I saw that I had two friars to begin with, I considered the matter settled." (*Fundaciones*, chap. iii.)

² Fr. Zimmerman, however (*Foundations of St. Teresa* (London, 1913), p. xvi), suggests that the reference is to moral qualities and that St. John of the Cross is the "whole" friar and his companion the "half." I confess that the traditional interpretation seems to me the more likely of the two, from every point of view.

³ *I.e.* at Valladolid, where she was teaching him the rules and customs of the Reform.

⁴ St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 10 (September 1568). Cf. *Fundaciones*, chap. xiii, written also of the year 1568, where she again speaks highly of him.

This was in 1568, and ten years only strengthened her good opinion :

I assure you that I should value it greatly to have here my father Fray Juan de la Cruz, who is indeed the father of my soul. . . . You can be with him as with myself, and he will satisfy you greatly, for he is extremely spiritual and most experienced and learned. Those who were guided by his instruction here miss him sorely. Give thanks to God, Who has brought him to be so near to you.¹

I tell you, my daughter, that since he went away, I have not found another like him in the whole of Castile, nor one that inspires with such fervour those that tread the way to heaven. See then how great a treasure you have in that saint.²

By the summer of 1568 the permission necessary to found a Reformed house for men had been obtained, and a citizen of Avila had promised to give St. Teresa a tiny hovel—for it was nothing more—at Duruelo, some thirty miles from Avila, where at that time there was a village. Duruelo itself is a pleasant and fertile spot, contrasting with the monotonous Castilian plateau above it and around, but the “house” was so small and filthy that it seemed impossible to use. Yet here they began, and on November 28, 1568, Antonio, Juan, and a fellow-Carmelite from Medina took their vows, and Fray Juan assumed the name of Juan de la Cruz by which he is now known.³

The first chapel of the house was the tiny porch roughly adorned with the branches of trees. In this Fray Juan (who had already been ordained priest⁴) said the first Mass of the foundation. There was but one room on the ground floor, and a garret above, and in these they had scarcely room to stand upright. The only windows in the hovel were a few holes in the roof, and for beds they had a little straw, with stones for their pillows. The first habit of the Reform St. Teresa made with her own hands ; the first meal at Duruelo was

¹ Letter of uncertain date (apparently written near the end of 1578) to the Prioress and Community at Beas.

² St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 261 (also written apparently towards the end of 1578). Cf. also *Cartas*, 210 : “ Todos le tienen por santo, y todas ” ; 261, “ Es un hombre celestial y divino.”

³ See St. Teresa, *Fundaciones*, chap. xiv.

⁴ Jerónimo de San José, *op. cit.*, bk. I, chap. vii.

begged from the village at the end of the day's work. It was not an auspicious beginning.¹

But at least it was characteristic of the six years of St. John's life which followed : six years of constant hardship—of many and long journeyings—often on foot—of the severest poverty, of preachings, exhortations and instructions, of occupations of a practical kind inseparable from such practical activity, yet never so absorbing as to shut out the claims of contemplation and discipline. What kind of a career was this for one of the greatest Spaniards who ever lived ? The lecturer may indeed draw a laugh by describing St. John of the Cross as

a Spanish mystic who flourished . . . in the sixteenth century—or rather who existed, for there was little that suggested flourishing about him.²

But the Christian can answer him, from the most wonderful record of religious experience ever written :

Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God.³

And St. John of the Cross did flourish, for, in every sense save the material, success attended the friars in their labours. House after house was added to the number of those following the primitive rule, until the friars of the mitigation began to fear that the Reform would spread throughout the Order. They determined at last to take action. A general Chapter met in the summer of 1575, and decreed that all the houses of the Reform but the two originally sanctioned should be suppressed. A friar hostile to the Reform was appointed visitor of Spain. The war, in short, between Calced and Discalced had begun, and before the end of 1577 St. John of the Cross was in prison at Toledo.⁴

He had, of course, had a "trial"—as a rebellious and contumacious friar ; he had been offered high honour among the Calced if he would abandon the Reform, and

¹ St. Teresa, *Fundaciones*, chap. xiv.

² William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (London, 1902), p. 304.

³ Ps. xcii, 13.

⁴ For the details of his arrest, see J. Baruzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-5.

threatened with the severest punishments if he persisted in it. On his side had been the General of the Order, and the late Papal Nuncio ; the present Nuncio, however, was at one with the general Chapter in opposition to the Reform and anxiety to put it down immediately. Possession of the prisoner, it seemed, was nine points of the law, and it was this law which pronounced sentence.

So Fray Juan was confined in a narrow cell ten feet long and six feet wide, with a padlocked door and no window, its only illumination coming from a corridor through a tiny hole in the wall. It was in this den of darkness that he wrote some of the finest of those passages which tell of the Divine Light. For nine months he was allowed no change of clothing, even during the burning summer heat which makes Toledo, to say nothing of a Toledo prison, hardly bearable. Every evening he was given bread and water (occasionally with some scraps of salt fish), and, at first, after this meagre meal, was publicly scourged before the Prior of the monastery which formed his prison. Everything he endured, not only with meekness, but with joy.¹

A contemporary authority ² alleges that St. John of the Cross wrote a number of poems in his dark Toledo prison, namely the first thirty stanzas of the *Spiritual Canticle*, the lines beginning "In principio erat verbum"³ and the poem with the refrain "Although 'tis night." A rather less trustworthy tradition ⁴ credits the period of the imprisonment with the famous lyric on the "Dark Night of the Soul." It may well be that the themes of the last two poems have given rise to the tradition, but

¹ Cf. St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 232, 246. From the latter, as well as from other sources, we learn most of the above details, and also that the "tiny cell was hardly large enough to hold him, small as he is (*con cuan chicos es*).” P. Jerónimo de San José (*op. cit.*, bk. iii, chaps. viii–xi) describes in great detail the mystical experiences of the saint during this period, apparently by bringing his imagination to bear on St. John of the Cross’ own works.

² Magdalena del Espíritu Santo, *cit.* Baruzi, *op. cit.*, p. 189, n. 5. Cf. Jerónimo de San José, *op. cit.*, bk. iii, chap. xii., who quotes the whole poem, and José de Jesús María, *op. cit.*, bk. ii, chap. viii.

³ See p. 283, below.

⁴ Baruzi, *op. cit.*, p. 190, n. 1. But the testimony is only that a nun "said that she had heard the Father say" that he had written the poem in question there.

the content of "Although 'tis night" would certainly suggest that it was written at a time of deep mental depression such as may well have beset the poet as he languished in the dungeon of his enemies—a depression which he had within himself the means to combat :

Que bien sé yo la fonte que mana y corre,
Aunque es de noche.

Aquella eterna fonte está escondida,
Que bien sé yo do tiene su manida,
Aunque es de noche.

En esta noche oscura de esta vida,
Que bien sé por fe la fonte frida,
Aunque es de noche.

Su origen no lo sé, pues no le tiene,
Mas sé que todo origen de ella viene,
Aunque es de noche.

Sé que no puede ser cosa tan bella,
Y que cielos y tierra beben de ella,
Aunque es de noche.¹

How well I know the spring that freely flows,
Although 'tis night.

That spring of endless joy is hid from sight,
But well I know the abode of its delight
Although 'tis night !

Yea, in a life so sad and dark as this,
Through faith I reach the waterspring of bliss
Although 'tis night.

Its birth I know not, for it has no birth,
But from it spring all other springs on earth
Although 'tis night.

Naught is there half so fair, nor can be so.
From it drink heaven and earth—and this I know
Although 'tis night.

During all this time, the man of so many activities, now condemned to be outwardly passive, was awaiting in pain and suffering, but in quietness and confidence, his deliverance. One night it was foretold by a heavenly

¹ *Cantar del alma que se huelga de conocer a Dios por fe* (Obras, vol. iii, pp. 172-3).

Voice, which said to him : " Fear not, John, I am here and will set thee free." ¹ Shortly after came two successive visions of Our Lady, in the second of which the prisoner was shown the window by which he was to escape. ² He was now ready for action. At the first opportunity he left his cell, on a silent and dark night, found the window of his vision, and lowering himself by means of strips from a cloak, escaped to a Reformed monastery founded ten years earlier by St. Teresa. From that moment, despite the vigilance of his pursuers, he was safe. ³

And now once again the life of St. John of the Cross becomes a record of more than ordinary activity. From one monastery to another he went, visiting, exhorting, strengthening his brethren. For a time he was confessor to the nuns of Beas ; then he spent some months in fertile Andalucía ⁴ as Vicar of the monastery of Mount Calvary, in the absence of its prior at Rome. In this retreat we find St. John of the Cross writing once more, as he had done even in Toledo ; he is now composing the commentary on the *Spiritual Canticle*. We have also accounts of his government of the house, his austerity towards himself, and his generosity to others, his insistence upon the spirit as well as the letter of the reformed rule, and the misgivings with which he regarded its exaggerations. In 1579 he founded and governed for two years a reformed house in the important city of Baeza, and here his principles and practice became famous throughout Andalucía. To outward appearances this was the most prosperous time of his life. The strife between Calced and Discalced was now healed and the Order divided. ⁵ Except that he was in a strange land (for

¹ This story is found, considerably embellished, in Jerónimo de San José, *op. cit.*, bk. iii, chap. xvii.

² *Op. cit.*, bk. iii, chaps. xviii-xix ; José de Jesús María, *op. cit.*, bk. ii, chaps. ix-x.

³ Cf. St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 242.

⁴ Cf. J. Baruzi, *op. cit.*, p. 199 : " Ici, au Calvario, c'était l'ambiance directe qui venait attendrir sa pensée : les pins, les oliviers, le Guadalquivir naissant, les herbes et les plantes." The contrast made is with the environment of Duruelo.

⁵ See p. 144, above.

we have it on St. Teresa's authority¹ that he found the South as uncongenial as she) he must have been supremely happy. At the end of two years he was elected Prior of an exemplary house in Granada. Thus he went from strength to strength.

But though the Discalced friars were now at peace with their brethren they were soon to be at discord among themselves. When their independence was recognized by a papal bull in 1580 their new provincial, Gracián, was elected by a majority of only one. Both as erudite and mystic, he was an outstanding figure—a man, too, as might be guessed from St. Teresa's letters, of singular charm. As affectionate as spiritual by nature, he added to these gifts just those qualities which make the successful ecclesiastic. He was energetic and active, eminently sociable, distinguished as a preacher and intensely attractive as a man. It is not difficult to guess his faults. With the death of St. Teresa, his great and influential supporter, discontent broke out everywhere. Laxities and licence had crept into the Reform; visions and revelations were given too much importance, and the provincial himself was in every place at once and but rarely in his cell. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the growing revolt against Fray Jerónimo's rule: for more than three years the trouble spread, and only when a new and strict provincial was appointed—all but unanimously—did it cease.

This strife greatly saddened what proved to be St. John of the Cross' last years,—for, though he was little more than forty years of age, his constitution, never over-robust, had been enfeebled, both by the rigid self-discipline which he constantly practised, and by the cruelty of his persecutors at Toledo. For six years more he toiled incessantly, in all parts of Spain, in the service of God and his Order, visiting one monastery after another, acting as vicar-provincial of Andalucía, founding

¹ St. Teresa, *Cartas*, 358: "Sepa, que consolando yo a fray Juan de la Cruz de la pena que tenía de verse en el Andalucía (que no puede sufrir aquella gente) antes de ahora, le dije, que como Dios nos diese provincia, procuraría se viniese por acá." Cf. pp. 147–8, above.

a house at Córdoba, travelling in Castile, being made once more prior in Granada¹ and eventually transferred as far north as Segovia. It is not surprising to read that he longed only to end his days in seclusion, without distinction or office, as a simple friar among the brethren of his choice. At the last this fortune came, in a way which he welcomed, if not perhaps in that which he had expected.

For new troubles broke out among the Discalced, and St. John of the Cross, who had been a friend of Gracián—though he never countenanced his laxities—was wrongfully suspected of being in league with some who would have favoured a return to the late provincial's policy. On Whitsun Eve, 1591, there opened at Madrid a Chapter of the Discalced which was hostile to him from the outset. He was relieved of his office, stripped of all rank and dignity, and bidden to seek exile in the austere and solitary house of the Reform of Peñuela. This sentence had scarcely been passed on him, it is true, when attempts were made to reinstate him. But Fray Juan, a simple friar again, had no wish to assume further office. Staying but for a few days with his nuns in Segovia, he reached Peñuela near the end of July. It is thought that he partly re-wrote there the commentary on the *Living Flame*. But this is merely tradition, and, in view of the weak state of his health, is probably not to be relied upon. He lived a life of intense and almost continual communion with the Unseen which no testimony can describe.

About two months after his arrival at Peñuela, Fray Juan was attacked by a fever. Although he affected to disregard the "few slight bouts"² which he had suffered, it was clear to all that he was dangerously ill, and after some difficulty they persuaded him to allow himself to be moved to Ūbeda, where better medical attention was obtainable.

On the 22nd of September, 1591, he left Peñuela ;

¹ Here according to contemporary evidence (see Baruzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-10) the greater part of San Juan's prose was written.

² *Unas calenturillas* (*Cartas*, 21 Sept., 1591. In *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 106).

on the 14th of December he died. The story of those last three months of his illness is a painful one, for added to the accounts of his sufferings, and of his refusals to mitigate them—for example with music—that he might “have Purgatory in this life and die an undistinguished friar like his brethren”—his two great desires—are incidents reminiscent of the enmity which he might have been allowed to escape. The prior of Úbeda was a harsh man, who had been humiliated by Fray Juan years before at Seville. He laboured, it would seem, to repay this humiliation now, when his brother was at the point of death ; not for many weeks did he relent and treat him more compassionately.

Yet none of these painful traits can obscure the dignity of the friar's last days : rather, they serve to enhance it. In reading the narratives, even when allowance is made for their desire to edify at whatever cost, one has the strangely persistent impression of a man under authority, of one who knew when the moment would come when he was to give his life into the charge of Another, and faithfully kept it till he should thankfully yield it up. A week before his death he had promised to warn his brethren of his passing. At half-past eleven o'clock on the night of December 14, he asked that the community should be called. At twelve o'clock he died.

II

The three chief prose works of St. John of the Cross were written as commentaries upon three poems with which we shall deal at length in the following section. They are : (1) the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* (1583), which expounds the famous lines beginning “On a dark night . . .”¹, and the incomplete treatise of *The Dark*

¹ The author's prefatory “Argument” says : “All the doctrine which will be treated in this *Ascent of Mount Carmel* is included in the following stanzas : in which also is the manner of climbing to the summit of that mount, which is the lofty state of perfection, which here we call the Union of the soul with God.”

Night, which may be considered with it¹ ; (2) the *Spiritual Canticle* (1584) commenting the longer poem of that title which begins "Where didst Thou hide?"² and (3) the *Living Flame of Love* (1584), which also takes its title from the first words of a poem.³ Besides these treatises, which, though written at dates so near to one another, had been previously sketched, and even drafted at length, the works of St. John of the Cross include a number of other poems, of colloquies between Christ the Spouse and His Bride the Soul, a Brief Treatise of the Dark Knowledge of God, Spiritual Sentences and Maxims, together with letters and various fragments.

It is regrettable that we have not a collection of letters by St. John of the Cross which is comparable with those that are extant of St. Teresa's. Including fragments, only some twenty-five are known to exist—all written between 1581 and 1591—and though in a country like Spain, which has so many hidden treasures, it is always possible that more may come to light, an *Epistolario* of anything like this size cannot yield great results. Indeed the letters extant, which treat for the most part of spiritual matters, allow us to see less of the personality of St. John of the Cross than do the few references to him in St. Teresa's correspondence. They reveal but little of that shrewd and unfailing insight into the minds of men and women which inspires some of the most practical passages of his expositions. What they do show is, on the one hand, his earnestness, zeal and ardour, and on the other the tact, charm and gentleness of his manner in conveying the austerest counsel to his

¹ See P. Gerardo's introduction to *Subida* (*Obras*, vol. *ib*, pp. 3-5). This book consists of two parts: "Dark Night of the Sense" and "Dark Night of the Spirit."

² The argument runs: "The order of these stanzas is as of a soul from the time when it begins to serve God, until it arrives at the last state of perfection, which is the Spiritual Marriage; so that they treat of the three states or paths (*vías*) of spiritual exercise (*ejercicio espiritual*) through which the soul passes till it reaches the final state, namely, the purgative way, the illuminative, and the unitive" (*Cántico*, Argumento; *Obras*, vol. ii, p. 169).

³ These, in the words of the sub-title of the commentary, "treat of the most intimate and perfect union and transformation of the soul in God" (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 383).

spiritual daughters. He was an ideal confessor for women who desired the best gifts of the mystic life, and it is noteworthy that twenty of the twenty-five letters extant are addressed to women. Except for the personal references, his correspondence is hardly distinguishable in style from his other works. A few lines from a letter to the nuns of Beas may be quoted as one of his best :

Jesus be in your souls, my daughters. Think you that because I am so silent I have lost sight of you, and have ceased to consider with how great ease you may become saints, and with great joy and assurance of protection rejoice alway in your beloved Spouse ? I will indeed come to you, and you will perceive that I have not been unmindful of you, and we shall see the wealth that is gained by pure love and in the paths of eternal life, and the goodly progress that you are making in Christ, whose joys and crown His brides will be—a crown that ought not to go trailing on the ground, but should rather be taken by the hands of angels and seraphim, and placed with esteem and reverence on the Head of their Lord.¹

But a few of his letters only have this abundance of imagery, which in the following lines of the letter is developed still farther. In most of them the iron hand can be discerned beneath the velvet glove, and occasionally is wholly bared as St. John writes to the stronger of his spiritual children. A fragment like this speaks for itself :

Answering a spiritual son who had begged him to moderate his penances.

JESUS : If at any time, my brother, a man persuade thee—be he a prelate or no—to embrace doctrines that are broader and lighter to bear, believe him not, neither embrace them, not though they be confirmed with miracles. Penance and still more penance ! Loose thy hold upon all things. And never, if thou wouldst possess Christ, do thou seek Him without the Cross.—Fray John of the Cross.²

The teaching of a man who wrote such letters as these, and lived such a life as we have outlined, could not be other than austere. We could almost fashion it

¹ *Cartas*, 6 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 83).

² *Cartas*, 25 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 109).

for ourselves from the story of his life, and a study of his writings, in so far as they affect the practical life of the Christian, reveals nothing in the least surprising. The centre of all his instruction, and of his thought, is unwavering devotion to Christ. "Keep the likeness of Christ pure and clear in thy soul"¹ is his watchword. And in his Spiritual Truths are many precepts like these :

The value of love consists not in a man's strong feelings, but in his detachment and patience under all trials, for the sake of his Well-Beloved.²

He who would love anything together with God esteems Him but little.³

The soul that would possess God wholly must be possessed by Him alone.⁴

Live in this world as though there were in it but God and thy soul.⁵

It is this attitude of complete and exclusive devotion, of single-mindedness and detachment, which begets St. John's austerity. Having shut out all else from his life than God, he is free to spend and be spent in his Master's service. *El alma que anda enamorada no se cansa ni cansa.* "The pilgrim soul that is fired with love wearies not neither is wearied."⁶ And so the true lover, recognizing only one prize on earth, will "strive always, not after the easiest but after the hardest . . . not after what giveth pleasure, but after what giveth none . . . not

¹ No te hagas presente a las criaturas si quieres guardar el rostro de Dios claro y sencillo en tu alma (*Avisos y sentencias espirituales*, 25. *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 19).

² *Avisos*, 123 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 30).

³ *Avisos*, 137 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 31).

⁴ *Avisos*, 133 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 31).

⁵ *Avisos*, 350 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 55). Cf. B.A.E. (*Avisos*, 345), and the verses "Suma de la perfección" which are probably his (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 196) :

Olvido de lo criado,
Memoria del Criador,
Atención a lo interior
Y estarse amando al Amado.

⁶ *Avisos*, 152 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 33).

after great things but after little things ; not after the highest and most precious, but after the lowest and most despised. Strive not to desire anything, but rather to desire nothing.”¹

If he warns the “ beginner ” against devout persons “ that load themselves with images, rosaries and crucifixes both curious and costly—putting down some and taking up others, now changing them, now changing back again,”² it is because such attachments are opposed to true “ poverty of spirit, which looks only to the substance of devotion,”³ using legitimate aids legitimately, as a means to an end. In the same spirit he condemns those who join in pilgrimages⁴ more for their own distraction than for purposes of true devotion ; who “ take such pleasure and delight in their oratories and the adorning of them that all the time goes in this which they should have spent in prayer to God and inward recollection ”⁵; or who attribute efficacy to forms and ceremonies in which they place “ much more reliance than in earnest prayer.”⁶ As for voices, visions, ecstasies and such outward manifestations of Divine power, he speaks trenchantly of persons who have hardly learned how to meditate, and who, hearing the least sound, pronounce it to be the voice of God.⁷ And even true visions have not so much value

¹ *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, I, xiii (*Obras*, vol. *ib*, p. 89). The same strain is heard to the end of the chapter, which should be read in its entirety. Cf. p. 23, above.

² *Noche oscura del sentido*, iii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 12). He returns to the subject many times : e.g. in *Subida*, III, xxxiv, and following chapters, upon which one is tempted to dwell and which should be read by every student. With them, however, should be read, e.g., *Subida*, II, xvii, in which due importance is given to the legitimate use of aids to devotion.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Romerías*. The sight is common enough in Spain, even to-day. Cf. *Avisos*, 268 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 46).

⁵ *Subida*, III, xxxvii (*Obras*, vol. *ib*, p. 381).

⁶ *Subida*, III, xlii (*Obras*, vol. *ib*, p. 393).

⁷ *Avisos*, 105 (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 27–8). His language is unusually forceful : “ Cosa es digna de espanto lo que pasa en nuestros tiempos, que cualquier alma de por ahí, con cuatro maravedises de consideración, si sienten algunas hablas en algún recogimiento, luego lo bautizan todo por de Dios, y suponen que es así, diciendo : Díjome Dios, respondiíme Dios ; y no es así, sino que ellas mismas se lo responden con la gana que tienen de ello.” Cf. pp. 30, 197–8, above.

as the smallest act of humility.¹ The danger of over-attention to these manifestations is emphasized throughout St. John of the Cross' writings.² Nor, in spite of his own ascetic life, does he forget the harmful possibilities of over-austerity. Even mortifications may be a hindrance to devotion. "Bodily penance, without obedience, is a most imperfect thing, for beginners are moved to it solely by the pleasure and delight which it brings them ; and, therein following their own will, they grow rather in vice than in virtue."³

It will be gathered that St. John of the Cross had no small knowledge of human nature. Whatever his claims to scholarship might be, he was a skilled practical psychologist. The reader cannot but marvel, and may be forgiven if he trembles, as St. John describes the "imperfections of beginners" in the path which leads to God :

Many of them wish to be intimate with their confessors, and the favoured ones ; and hence proceed endless envyings and disquietude. They are ashamed to confess their sins plainly, lest their confessors should despise them, so they seek to palliate them, that they may appear less blameworthy, which is excusing rather than accusing themselves. Sometimes they seek another confessor when they have done wrong, that their own may think them good people, and not bad ; and so they like always to tell him what is

¹ *Avisos*, 335 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 53) : " All visions, revelations and experiences which come from Heaven, howsoever highly the spiritual person may esteem them, are of less worth than the smallest act of humility, which has the effects of charity, prizing not and thinking not well of its own business, but rather of the business of others." Cf. pp. 166, 198, above.

² It is dealt with very fully in *Subida*, II, xi, and following chapters, and he is never far from the subject throughout the whole of the second book of that work. It is, indeed, the most important single element in all his practical teaching. In commenting the words " Que voy de vuelo " (*Cántico*, 13) he adds that though this would be a convenient place for treating of " the difference between raptures, ecstasies, and other transports and subtle flights of the spirit," he is content to refer his readers to the works of " the blessed Teresa of Jesus, our mother " who has dealt with these matters in great detail. He nowhere shows any desire to do likewise, except for warning his readers against deception. This point is insisted on by an early commentator (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 521).

³ *Avisos*, 287 (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 48). A fuller exposition of the same subject is given in *Noche oscura del sentido*, vi. (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 20-3).

good of themselves, and even to use terms which make it seem better than it is.¹

At times (even) spiritual persons, when they are speaking of spiritual things, or doing good actions, display a certain vivacity or bravado, arising from the presence of other people, and act in a way which causes themselves an empty delight. . . . Some of these persons, too, form friendships with others on the spiritual road which are born not of spirituality at all but of luxury.²

Many beginners . . . when once they have lost delight and sweetness in spiritual things, become hard to please, and . . . no longer behave pleasantly, but are irritated by trifles, so that at times nobody can bear to be near them.³

Equally searching is his examination of the spiritual director, equally sane and practical his advice to him, yet full of the highest dignity and wisdom. For though he never counsels or tolerates laxity, he deals the strongest rebukes to those confessors who would discourage the mystically-minded, the seekers after reality :

These spiritual directors, not understanding souls who have already tasted quiet and solitary contemplation, because they have not reached this state themselves . . . think them to be indolent, and disturb the peace of that calm and tranquil contemplation which God Himself is giving them. . . .

Such as these know not what spirituality is. They insult and do irreverence to God by touching His work with their coarse hands, for it has cost Him much to have brought these souls thus far, and He esteems it a prize to have brought them into this solitude. . . . that He may speak to their hearts. This is what He always desires, taking them now by the hand, and reigning now within them in an abundance of calm and peace.⁴

But this passage has introduced terms which belong to the language of mysticism, and we may now ask what this solitude, this emptiness and this abundance of peace betoken—a question which can only be answered by setting out in imagination, with St. John of the Cross, upon the Mystic Way.

¹ *Noche oscura del sentido*, ii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 9).

² *Noche oscura del sentido*, iv (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 18).

³ *Noche oscura del sentido*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 19).

⁴ *Llama*, III, iii, xi (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 457-8).

III

Of all Spanish writers, St. John of the Cross has left us the most complete account of the higher slopes of Mount Carmel. He has touched but lightly upon the lower stages of the journey, but the grace, eloquence and power with which he writes of the more ethereal realms have perhaps been exceeded by no other mystic in all literature. Parts of his work are beyond all description. They can only be fitly read with the hushed reverence of a receptive soul.

Less human than St. Teresa he may be thought, for there is less contact with the world in his writings than in hers, and while he undoubtedly excels her in his portrayal of the highest states of the mystic life, she may be thought by some to have surpassed him in her treatment of the life of the beginner and of the slowly progressing soul.¹ But in truth these two writers are so great that comparison between them is all but impossible. Like two birds soaring aloft till they are all but lost in the distance, they can often only be discerned at all from afar. One thinks and speaks of them together, in the words of a modern poet, as

Teresa, alma de fuego ;
Juan de la Cruz, espíritu de llama.²

In the *Dark Night* we follow the pilgrim from the first stage of his progress : the spiritual awakening, when "the grace of God regenerates the soul with new fervour and desire to serve Him."³ The spiritual enthusiasm of the newly awakened soul is described : "It delights to spend much time in prayer, perhaps whole nights ; its pleasures are penances, its joys are to fast ; and in using the sacraments and speaking of divine things

¹ I do not myself hold this view, as some of the quotations made from St. John of the Cross, both above and below, will suggest. His letters and maxims (*Avisos y sentencias espirituales*) are sufficient to prove his greatness in this sphere.

² Antonio Machado, *Campos de Castilla*, Madrid, 1912, p. 161.

³ *Noche oscura del sentido*, i (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 7).

are its consolations.”¹ But we are reminded also of the weakness and imperfection of penitents such as these : for all their apparent sanctity they are as yet applying themselves to devotion chiefly from motives of self-satisfaction : they have not yet acquired the “habit of perfection” which will later be theirs.² Hence they will fall into many sins, against which they are warned in some detail.³

Nevertheless, they will give themselves continually to reflection and meditation—the first steps upon the road—though the seeker who continues in the way will soon abandon these for practices more worthy of God.⁴ Once he has set his foot upon the higher path of contemplation, and learned something of detachment, he will never return to meditation nor be content with “spiritual sweetness,” but rise above these and await the communications of God.

At no time or season, now that the soul has begun to enter this dark and simple state of contemplation, which comes to pass when it can no longer meditate nor endeavour to do so, must it seek to indulge in meditations neither to cleave to spiritual delights or sweetness but to be detached and loosed in spirit from all these things.⁵

The seeker, then, is upon the path leading from reflection to contemplation. In the language of the poem

¹ *Noche oscura del sentido*, i (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 7).

² *Ibid.*, “Porque, en fin, cada uno obra conforme al hábito de perfección que tiene.”

³ See pp. 244–6, above. It is strange that St. John, like St. Teresa, returns to the beginner and his faults towards the end of the most advanced of his expositions, introducing a long digression for that purpose. (*Llama*, iii.) It would seem that he was criticized in his own times for devoting too little of his expositions to the beginner ; Fray José de Jesús María (Quiroga), for example, thinks it necessary (*Obras*, *ed. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 513) to excuse him for not writing more about “ordinary meditation,” by saying that “the intent of our holy father was not to treat and make clear all the degrees of the mystical ladder . . . but only the principal means whereby the soul is more immediately prepared for the divine union, etc.”

⁴ *Noche oscura del sentido*, viii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 26) : “God desires to lead them on, and bring them out of this lower manner of love for God to a higher degree therein, and to free them from the lower exercises of the senses, and from reasoning, whereby they seek after God in ways so miserable and unworthy.”

⁵ *Llama*, III, vii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 448).

of the Dark Night,¹ he has left the House of Sense, and is plunged into that Night of Purgation to which St. John of the Cross devotes a great part of three of his expositions.² He is on "the way of the spirit . . . or, as it is also called, the illuminative way, or the way of infused contemplation, in which God Himself feeds and refreshes the soul without . . . any active aid which the soul of itself may give. Such, as we have said, is the night and purgation of the senses within the soul."³

The House of Sense is left behind, for "if the soul would listen to God, it must stand upright (*muy en pie*), not lean for support upon the affections and senses."⁴ But more than this must be done to arrive at a state of perfect detachment. Spiritual comforts and pleasures must be renounced as well as sensual delights, and satisfactions which are only temporal. The seeking soul is pictured as a bride in search of her Beloved, journeying unceasingly and pausing not so much as to gather a flower, "by which flowers are meant the pleasures, joys and delights which this life offers, and which would hinder the soul on her journey if she plucked or sought them."⁵

Alone, therefore, and unencumbered, the traveller enters the Night of Purgation,⁶ which St. John of the Cross describes so intimately and realistically as to convey even to the casual reader a sense of almost physical

¹ . . . Salí sin ser notada,
Estando ya mi casa sosegada.

Cf. exposition, *Noche oscura del sentido*, xiv (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 47-50).

² *Viz.*, of *Subida*, i; *Noche oscura del sentido*; *Cántico espiritual*, 1-13.

³ *Noche oscura del sentido*, xiv (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 47-8). *Cf.* also i (pp. 6-7).

⁴ *Noche oscura del sentido*, xii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 41).

⁵ *Cántico espiritual*, 3 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 189-90). *Cf.* the stanza of which this chapter is the exposition:

Buscando mis amores,
Iré por esos montes y riberas,
Ni cogeré las flores,
Ni temeré las fieras,
Y pasaré los fuertes y fronteras.

⁶ Various similar names are given to it: the "dark night," the "night of sense," the "passive purgation of the Dark Night," the "dark night of mortification of the desires," etc.

oppression. The seeker looks back upon the time when his devotions were full of delight, and when the sun of Divine favour shone (as he thinks) more clearly.¹ He is like one who has entered a dark tunnel. Behind him is the speck of light which is all that marks the past : before him is blackness itself. "God leaves him in such thick darkness that he knows not whither to turn. He cannot advance a step in meditation, as he was wont, the inward sense being overwhelmed in this night and left in such barrenness that instead of joy and sweetness in spiritual exercises . . . he now finds insipidity and bitterness."² The all but intolerable "dryness" or "aridity" is accompanied by utter inability to think or reason or imagine. The memory dwells upon God, and the will desires union with Him ever increasingly. But the understanding can do nothing.

Some of the above-mentioned characteristics which mark this spiritual state are, of course, not unknown apart from it. Indeed, St. John of the Cross reminds us, an aridity like that of the Dark Night frequently proceeds from very different causes : "not from this night and this purgation of the appetite of sense, but from sins or imperfections, from weakness or lukewarmness, from some physical disturbance or indisposition of the body."³ But it is not difficult, he continues, to ascertain whether the cause be of God or no. For in the Dark Night the atrophy affects not only spiritual but material things also ; the soul is troubled by this impotence, which it realizes but cannot remedy ; the more it strives, the less it is able to progress. When spiritual lukewarmness or physical trouble, on the other hand, seems to reproduce the conditions of the Dark Night, none of these signs occurs. The dryness felt then affects only the things of God ; there is no inward solicitude ; and a return to

¹ *Noche oscura del sentido*, viii (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 26-7) : "When they are progressing most surely in these spiritual exercises according to their own will and pleasure, and when it seems to them that the sun of Divine favours is shining most brightly upon them, then God shuts off from them all this light, and closes the door and the source of the fresh spiritual waters which they were so greatly enjoying in God whenever and for so long as they wished."

² *Noche oscura del sentido*, viii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 27).

³ *Noche oscura del sentido*, ix (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 28).

meditation and other more elementary devotions always has result.¹

Such, then, is the true Night of Sense : how must the traveller towards Union walk in it ?

First, he must study to be quiet, disregarding all incitement towards unrest, whether from without or from within, make no attempt to "labour," and resign himself into the loving hand of God.² If he strives, he will but lose that spirit of tranquillity which his resolve to enter on the mystic quest had gained him ; nor will he achieve any compensating spiritual progress.³ Unless such a seeker has some experienced person to guide him, he is likely to fall away altogether.⁴

Then follows one of those passages which reveal its author as at once a skilled director, a mystic and a poet. We may transcribe some extracts :

The conduct to be followed in the night of sense is to have no kind of recourse to reasoning or meditation,⁵ for, as I have already said, the time for that is now past. Let the soul be calm and still, although it may seem to be idle, to be losing time, and

¹ *Noche oscura del sentido*, ix (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 27-32, *passim*) : " I will set down here certain signs whereby a man may know if this dryness comes from the purgation already mentioned, or if it arises from one of the vices. I find that there are three principal signs.

" The first is that, even as a man finds no consolation or pleasure in the things of God, he may find none also in any created things. For, when God sets the soul in this Dark Night, that He may wean and purge the appetite of the senses, He allows him to take delight and find pleasure in naught. . . . The second . . . is that in general the memory dwells upon God with solicitude and heavy care thinking that it serves not God, but goes backward, because it finds that it has no more pleasure in the things of God. It is clear that this dryness and absence of pleasure come not from lukewarmness and weakness, for lukewarmness causes a soul rather to care naught, and to have no inward solicitude for the things of God. . . . The third . . . is that the soul can neither meditate nor reason, nor use the imagination as it was wont, however much it strives to do so, for God is beginning to communicate Himself to the soul, no longer by means of the senses, . . . but by pure spirit."

The amplification of these points occupies the whole chapter.

² *Noche oscura del sentido*, ix (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 30-31) : " Forsaking all working, whether inward or outward, and being without solicitude to work aught, the soul would enjoy the most delicate experience of inward refection."

³ *Noche oscura del sentido*, x (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 34). Cf. ix, *passim*.

⁴ *Noche oscura del sentido*, x (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 33).

⁵ A spurious passage inserted at the end of this chapter, but not found in any of the manuscripts, modifies the counsel to leave meditation. It was no doubt put in so as not to cause weaker brethren to stumble—a laudable enough aim—but it is strangely out of place in its context.

to be so weak as not to be willing to employ itself in thought. It will be enough to have patience, to continue in prayer, to keep the soul free, undisturbed, and at rest from thought and knowledge, to have no anxiety as to thought or meditation, content with a calm and loving awareness of God¹; and this without anxiety or effort, without even the desire to realise His presence and rest in it.² For all such strivings disquiet and distract the soul from the tranquil calm and sweet repose of the contemplation which they may here win. . . .

Let them still be calm and patient, for their uneasiness comes but from their own desire to be in a broad and pleasant place. To exert their faculties now would be to spoil, nay to ruin the good which God is setting in the soul and imprinting upon it by means of peace and repose. . . . For contemplation is naught else than a secret, peaceful and loving infusion of God, which, if it be given place, will set the soul aflame with the spirit of love.³

This firing of the soul is indeed what takes place when the night of purgation fades into the dawn of the illuminative life. The purer the soul has become, the earlier does it "feel itself affected and inflamed with the love of God, knowing not nor understanding whence and how that love comes, save that at times the burning fire is so hot within it that with fervent desire it seeks its God."⁴ And at this point,

Con ansias en amores inflamada,⁵

it can sing of the light that guides—*la que en el corazón ardía*⁵:

Aquesta me guiaba
Más cierto que la luz del medio día,
A donde me esperaba,
Quien yo bien me sabía,
En parte donde nadie parecía.⁵

That light did lead me on,
More surely than the shining of noontide,
Where well I knew that One
Did for my coming bide;
Where he abode might none but he abide.

¹ *Una advertencia amorosa y sosegada en Dios.*

² *Sin gana de sentirle y de gustarle.*

³ *Noche oscura del sentido*, x, *passim* (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 32-5).

⁴ *Noche oscura del sentido*, xi (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 36).

⁵ *Canciones del alma.* See p. 269, below.

Now the soul may press forward joyfully towards the mark of its high calling. Now the seeker may travel unhindered along the road which leads him through the blessed state of illumination. Now passivity may be abandoned for a "journeying towards those things which are eternal."¹ The dark night may still be about the road,² but the light burns clear and strong within the seeker's breast,³ guiding him past all dangers⁴ into the haven where he would be.

St. John of the Cross says less than St. Teresa⁵ of that desired haven—the state of Illumination, beyond which many seekers never pass—less of it, too, than of the long and painful road which leads to it. But in one poem and its exposition—the *Spiritual Canticle*—he describes it at some length.⁶ It is a "high estate and union of love"⁷ known as the "spiritual betrothal with the Word, the Son of God,"⁷ not to be compared with that final union, the "spiritual marriage," which is the goal of every mystic, but nevertheless a state full of comfort and delight.⁸

"In the beginning," we are told, "God reveals to the soul great things concerning Himself, makes her beautiful

¹ *Noche oscura del sentido*, xi (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 37): "en salir el alma . . . de todas las cosas criadas, y caminar a las eternas."

² One cannot too often insist that mystical writers do not as a rule desire to draw absolutely clear and sharp distinctions between the various states which they describe. Such distinctions have no foundation upon experience.

³ *Noche oscura del sentido*, xi (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 37), and *Canciones del alma*, as above.

⁴ These dangers are described at some length in *Noche oscura del sentido*, xiv (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 47–50). In this brief summary of St. John of the Cross' exposition, however, it is only possible to describe the principal stages of the quest.

⁵ See pp. 169 ff., above.

⁶ The *Cántico espiritual* and the *Noche oscura* may be said to be complementary. The former deals mainly, as it were, with the crests of mystic experience (*i.e.* the "states" of illumination and union) and the latter with the troughs (the "deeps" or "nights" of purgation and the spirit's mystic death).

⁷ *Cántico*, 14, "Anotación" (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 233).

⁸ The difference is worked out in *Llama*, III, iii, 3 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 441–2): "The difference is as great as that which exists between betrothal and matrimony, for in betrothal there is but a mutual consent, and agreement of will on either side, and the jewels and the adornments of the betrothal, which the lover (*desposado*) graciously gives to his beloved (*desposada*). . . . Now this is the high state of the Spiritual Betrothal of the soul with the Word of God, wherein the Spouse grants to the soul great gifts, and visits it oftentimes lovingly, in Whom the soul enjoys great favours and delights; but these have naught to do with the joys of matrimony." See also p. 262, below, for a fuller quotation, and reference to St. Teresa on the same subject.

with majesty and grandeur, adorns her with gifts and graces, and clothes her with divine honour and knowledge, even as a bride is clothed and adorned on the day of her betrothal. On this happy day the soul not only ceases from her vehement desires and complaints of love, but, adorned with the gifts of which I speak, she enters a state of peace, delight and sweetness of love . . . in which she does naught else but sing and tell of her Beloved's greatness, which she knows and enjoys in Him through the blessed union of the Betrothal."¹

In the stanzas of the Canticle (14, 15) of which these words introduce the exposition, the poet sets forth in figurative language the wonders of the illuminative life: the foretaste of future glories which the soul enjoys, her "strange knowledge" of God's secrets, her consciousness of His power, her experience of His love, and her deliverance from evils which have assaulted her in the past.

These joys are great, but they are not the whole of what God has in store for those who love Him. The soul is still in a state of contemplation—that is in a dimness which Dionysius describes as a "ray of darkness,"²

¹ *Cántico*, 14 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 233).

² *Cántico*, 14 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 241): "la cual en esta vida, como dice San Dionisio, es rayo de tinieblas." The reference is to the *De Mystica Theologia* of Dionysius the Areopagite, cap. 1 (translation cited by J. Chapman, art. "Mysticism, Christian, Roman Catholic" in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*): "And thou, dear Timothy, in thy intent practice of the mystical contemplations, leave behind both thy senses and thy intellectual operations, and all things known by sense and intellect, and all things which are not and which are, and set thyself, as far as may be, to unite thyself in unknowing with Him who is above all being and knowledge, for by being purely free and absolute, out of self and of all things, thou shalt be led up to the ray of the divine darkness, stripped of all and loosed from all."

Cf. also Dionysius' fifth letter to Dorotheus the Deacon (translated by Sharpe, in *Mysticism, its true Nature and Value*, London, 1910): "The divine darkness is the inaccessible light in which God is said to dwell. And since He is invisible by reason of the abundant outpouring of supernatural light, it follows that whosoever is counted worthy to know and see God, by the very fact that he neither sees nor knows Him, attains to that which is above sight and knowledge and at the same time perceives that God is beyond all things both sensible and intelligible." And in chapter ii of *De Mystica Theologia* we read, of "that supernatural darkness which is hidden by all such light as is in created things": "We desire to abide in this most luminous darkness, and without sight or knowledge, to see that which is above sight or knowledge, by means of that very fact that we see not and know not."

and which St. John of the Cross terms elsewhere (applying the phrase even to the final state of union on earth) "the serene night,"¹ and (speaking of the illuminative life) "the peaceful night at the approach of dawn."² "It is not as though it were a night of darkness," he says, "but rather like the night when it is near to sunrise. . . . It is neither wholly night, nor wholly day, but, as they say, between the two lights; just so this solitude and Divine calm is neither clearly invested by the Divine light nor entirely without it."³

But this dim night of contemplation which figures the illuminative state is bright sunlight by comparison with the Dark Night of the Spirit⁴ into which the seeker must enter who would pass from the Spiritual Betrothal or illuminative life to the state of union—that is, the Spiritual Marriage. For he is not yet made perfect: his sensual nature has not become wholly subdued, and there are "habitual imperfections" which "like roots, have still remained in the spirit, where the purgation of

¹ Stanza 39 of the poem "¿A dónde te escondiste . . ."

" . . . En la noche serena

Con llama que consume y no da pena."

² *Ibid.*, Stanza 15: "La noche sosegada,

En par de los levantes de la aurora. . . ."

³ *Cántico*, 15 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 244).

⁴ Poulain, in his *Graces of Interior Prayer* (I quote from the English translation, 1910, since this is generally used in this country), says, in defining the second Night of the Soul (*i.e.* the Dark Night of the Spirit) that "St. John of the Cross gives the name . . . to all those mystic states that are lower than the spiritual marriage but held in esteem in so far as they contain obscurity and even sufferings" (p. 215). This appears to me true only in the sense in which many mystical states are present in other related states. That is, in so far as the Dark Night of the Spirit can be delimited at all, it comes between the Betrothal and the Marriage, though it no doubt invades these very states as well, in the experience of most. Poulain attaches, as it seems to me, too much stress to this quotation from *Noche oscura del espíritu*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 58) (the context is given in full below, p. 257): "Contemplatives call this [second dark night] 'infused contemplation' or 'mystical theology.'" He adds: "This passage alone would serve to prove my thesis" (*Graces of Interior Prayer*, *ed. cit.*, p. 216). But similar vague uses of the phrase "mystical theology" are frequent in the Spanish mystics.

On the passage cited the natural comment is that the second Dark Night *is* a form of infused contemplation and that St. John of the Cross did not mean for a moment to make the two identical in every respect. None of Poulain's other quotations appear to me to support his thesis in the least, and, on the other hand, he hardly mentions the terribly realistic passages to which I refer in the text above, and which surely do not apply to all mystic states below the highest!

sense could not penetrate.”¹ The soul can only be made ready for the spiritual marriage of union by a purgation so terrible that few can endure it. This is that Dark Night which is the principal characteristic of the thought of St. John of the Cross : “ it is a night or purgation of the spirit, wherein the soul is purified and laid bare according to the spirit,” to be disposed and made ready for union in love with God. This night of the spirit is known to very few, and to those only who have already been tried and found proficient.²

¹ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, ii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 53) : “ Las (imperfecciones) habituales son las aficiones y hábitos imperfectos que todavía, como raíces, han quedado en el espíritu, donde la purgación del sentido no pudo llegar.” “ La purgación del sentido,” the passage continues, “ sólo es puerta y principio de contemplación para la del espíritu, que . . . más sirve de acomodar el sentido al espíritu, que de unir el espíritu con Dios. Mas todavía se quedan en el espíritu las manchas del hombre viejo, aunque a él no se le parecen, ni las echa de ver : las cuales si no salen con el jabón y fuerte lejía de la purgación de esta noche, no podrá el espíritu venir a pureza de unión divina.”

² *Noche oscura del sentido*, I, viii (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 25-6). The whole passage may be quoted, for the clear distinction which it makes between the two Nights. It runs as follows :

“ This night—which is the name we give to contemplation—causes in spiritual persons two kinds of darkness or purgation, corresponding to the two parts of man, namely, sense and spirit. Thus the first night, or sensual purgation, wherein the soul is purged or laid bare, will be according to the senses, subjecting them to the spirit. The other is the night, or purgation, of the spirit, wherein the soul is purged and laid bare according to the spirit, and this night subdues and prepares it for the union of love with God. The night of sense is a common experience, and the lot of many : these are the beginners, of whom we shall speak first. The night of the spirit is the lot of very few : these are the advanced and the proficient, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

The first night or purgation is bitter and terrible to sense. The second, being of the spirit, is incomparably more awful, as we shall presently show. But since the night of sense is the first in order, and comes before the other, we shall say something briefly of it now.”

Most writers on mysticism describe this (second) state of complete spiritual desolation passed through by the greatest proficients under some such image as that of the Dark Night, though many refer to it as “ mystic death ” or “ spiritual death.” Psychologically it is a reaction from the lucidity of illumination. (Cf. E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 455 ff.) It is essential, of course, to observe the distinction made above, the two states referred to being quite unlike one another. The use of the same general figure, however, by St. John of the Cross, makes this not always easy.

The issue is confused further by St. John’s practice of referring to the state of illumination, and even to the state of union (as shown above, pp. 254-5) as a divine “ dimness ” or “ darkness ” and further to a quite general use of the figure of Night to denote the whole journey of the seeker after union with the Beloved, irrespective of any particular stage of it. See, for a convenient example (and there are many more), the first words quoted in this note.

The second book of the *Dark Night* makes this clearer :

This dark night is an inflowing of God into the soul, which purges it of its ignorances and imperfections, habitual, natural and spiritual. Contemplatives call this "infused contemplation," or "mystical theology,"¹ whereby God secretly teaches the soul and instructs it in the perfection of love, the soul itself doing naught but wait lovingly upon God, hearing Him and receiving His light, without understanding that this is infused contemplation. And since this is the loving wisdom of God, it makes special effects in the soul, preparing it, by purifying and illumination, for the union of love with God. It is the same loving wisdom that by illumination purifies the spirits of the blessed which here purifies and illumines the soul.²

St. John of the Cross is careful to show that the entry of the soul into the Dark Night of the Spirit implies no change in the attitude, still less in the Being, of the Divine Lover. Considered absolutely, the Night is nothing but the very light of Divine Wisdom, which is but darkness to the soul because of its greatness transcending the soul's comprehension. Just as the "dim contemplation" of the illuminative life is seen from the Eternal heights to be the first shining of the Divine Wisdom into a soul not yet transformed and hence blinding it, so, as the light shines ever more brightly, the unpurified soul apprehends it only as "thick darkness in the understanding."³

But there may be raised this doubt : Why should the soul call "dark night" that divine light which, as we say, illumines it and purges it of its ignorances ? To this the reply is that for two reasons the divine wisdom is not only night and darkness to the soul but also pain and torment. The first is the height of divine wisdom, which exceeds all the capacity of the soul, and to it is therefore darkness. The second is the meanness and

¹ See note 4, p. 255.

² *Noche oscura del espíritu*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 58).

³ *Ibid.*, and pp. ff. Cf. also viii, xv, and these lines in v : "A wonderful and a piteous thing it is that the soul's impurity and weakness should be so great that the hand of God, in reality so soft and so gentle, is felt by the soul in this state to be severe and heavy, even though it neither presses nor even rests upon it but only touches it—and that most mercifully, for He would fain grant the soul His graces, not chastise it" (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 61).

impurity of the soul, for which cause the wisdom of God is painful and afflictive to it, besides being dark.

To prove the first of these reasons we must assume a certain doctrine of philosophers which says that the clearer and more manifest are divine things in themselves, the darker and more secret are they, naturally, to the soul. Just so, the brighter is a light, the more it darkens and blinds the pupil of the owl, and the more directly the sun is gazed at, the greater the darkness caused to the visual organs, for it deprives them of power, so greatly does its strength exceed their weakness. So, when this divine light of contemplation strikes the soul, which is not yet perfectly enlightened, it plunges it into spiritual darkness, because it not only transcends it, but also blinds it and deprives it of the operation of its natural intelligence.¹

This explains the simile by which the Dark Night is likened to Faith, a figure which the reader whose theological ideas are shaped by popular hymns and conventional books of devotion often fails to understand. Night is the accepted metaphor for Sin, Sorrow, Doubt, Death; but for Faith—how can Faith be Night? St. John of the Cross explains that Faith is the Night of the Understanding,² and that although in the poem and its exposition he is writing as one who has attained to the state of union, yet he is writing dramatically, and often uses the language of the journeying soul.

For some time before entering upon this night the soul has experienced occasional periods of aridity, darkness and trial, sometimes much more severe ones than in the past; these are, as it were, "presages and heralds of the coming Night of the Spirit."³

The soul that God desires to lead on, He places not in this Night of the Spirit so soon as it comes forth from the drynesses and trials of the first purgation and night of sense, but it is accustomed to pass a certain time—even some years—after leaving the state of the beginner⁴; during which it is exercised in the progressive

¹ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 59).

² *Subida*, I, ii (*Obras*, vol. ib, p. 38): "The second night is Faith, which is likewise dark as night for the understanding." Cf. also *Subida*, II, iii *Obras*, vol. ib, pp. 106-110) which develops this same thought.

³ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, i (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 51-2).

⁴ I.e. the way of purification.

state.¹ In this, even as one who has come forth from the confines of prison, the soul goes forward in things of God with much more liberty and inward satisfaction, and with more abundant and intimate joy than it had at the first. . . . Yet it never lacks from time to time periods of necessity, dryness, darkness and constraint, often much more intense than those that are past, which are as presages and heralds of the coming Night of the Spirit : they do not, however, last for so long as does that night which awaits the soul.²

Now, however, the full light of the Divine Wisdom beats upon the imperfect soul³ : she knows anew God's majesty and greatness and her own uncleanness and misery ; she still thirsts for union with the Beloved ; but she feels utterly incapable of encompassing her aim because the light of God's Presence seems to have been withdrawn from her. " What most afflicts the suffering soul in this state is her clear perception (as she thinks) that God has abandoned her—that He utterly loathes her and has cast her into darkness. The thought of abandonment by God is a great and a grievous affliction. . . . All this, and even more, the soul feels now, for with fearful apprehension she dreads that it will be so with her for ever."⁴

Words and images alike are powerless to describe the soul's condition. " It is as though she were suspended in the air and prevented from breathing."⁵ " She is, as it were, brought to naught in her inmost substance, so great is her poverty."⁶ " She sees hell and perdition open before her eyes."⁷ Memories of past happiness

¹ *I.e.* the illuminative way. See pp. 111-3, above.

² *Noche oscura del espíritu*, i (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 51).

³ Cf. *Noche oscura del espíritu*, v (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 60) : " Since the light and wisdom of contemplation is most pure and bright, and the soul upon which it strikes is dark and impure, hence the reception causes the soul much pain, just as when the eyes are weak and affected by evil humours the invasion of bright light causes them pain. This pain in the soul, caused by its impurity, is exceedingly great when the divine light strikes upon it. For when the pure light strikes the soul, in order to expel its impurities, the soul perceives itself to be so unclean and wretched that it seems as if God is fighting against it—that it has become the adversary of God."

⁴ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, vi (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 62-3).

⁵ *Ibid.* (p. 64).

⁶ *Ibid.* (pp. 63-4).

⁷ *Ibid.* (p. 65).

add to her misery by taunting her ¹ ; she cannot believe that those who counsel her have known the intensity of her sufferings ² ; she is "like a prisoner in a dark cell, bound hand and foot, unable to see or to move, or even to feel relief from above or below." ³ Occasional bursts of light may break, or appear to break, through her darkness, but none of these intermissions is felt to be anything but temporary.

When the soul thinks itself to be most secure, it is swallowed up and overwhelmed in another degree of darkness, severer, blacker and more grievous than before ; and this will continue again for a season, perchance for a longer time than the first. The soul in this state comes to believe once more that all is over with it for ever. The experience which it had of the favours, now past, which it enjoyed after its former trial, when it thought that there could be no greater pain, are not sufficient to prevent it from believing that, in this second degree of affliction, all hope has gone and will not return as in the past.⁴

Yet the soul,

Con ansias en amores inflamada,⁵

never ceases to love God, or to do otherwise than long for Him ; "she would give up a thousand lives for Him," if she might, even though the very thought brings only a redoubled intensity of pain.⁶ And this love is far other than that which animated the soul to go forward through the night of Sense.⁷ It is a purer and higher love, perfectly unselfed, with no thought of ultimate good. For the soul is entirely persuaded that her case is without hope : "there is no possible remedy."⁸

So then, when the soul is on fire with this love, she sets forth, in the strength of her love and inflamed by her

¹ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, vii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 66).

² *Ibid.* (pp. 68-9).

³ *Ibid.* (p. 69).

⁴ *Ibid.* (p. 70).

⁵ *Canciones del alma*.

⁶ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, vii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 71). Cf. exposition of the line just quoted, xi-xiii (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 84-96), and the similar language used in the latter part of xiii.

⁷ See pp. 252-3, above.

⁸ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xiii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 93).

desire, considering only how to reach Him for Whom her soul longs :

When the flame of love is kindled within the soul, it is wont to have, not only a reverent esteem (*estimación*) for God, but such strength and vigour likewise, and such desire for God, Who communicates to it the heat of love, that, with a great boldness, looking at nothing and considering nothing, in the strength and inspiration (*embriaguez*) of its love and desire, scarcely looking at that which it does, it would perform strange and unwonted actions in whatsoever way and manner present themselves to it, if only it may attain to Him Whom it loves.¹

We say "she sets forth," but in truth it may often seem to the soul that she is standing still.² She is all the time in thick darkness, with none of her former illumination, with no understanding, no reflections, no senses to guide her—and for that very reason the more safely equipped.³ She descends—into still greater obscurity—by the secret staircase of Mystic Wisdom,⁴ in the disguise of the three virtues : faith, without which she would die⁵—hope, directed towards God alone⁶—love, which strengthens the other two virtues and unites them with itself.⁷ She is "in darkness and concealment," but thereby she is hidden also from her enemy the devil, and travels the more securely.⁸

"After this wise the soul draws ever nearer to union with God, in darkness, by way of Faith, which is dark likewise, yet this same Faith sheds over the soul a wondrous light. . . . For the soul that is in darkness, and blind as to its own proper and natural light, shall

¹ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xiii (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 93).

² *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xvi (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 101-2).

³ The whole of chapter xvi of the *Noche oscura del espíritu* develops this thought, expounding the line "A oscuras y segura."

⁴ See *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xvii-xxi, a long and subtle exposition of the line "Por la secreta escala disfrazada."

⁵ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xxi-xxii.

⁶ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xxi-xxii. "Hope" is not, of course, to be interpreted in the popular sense of "expectation of reward," for, as we have seen, the soul has no such expectation left.

⁷ *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xxi.

⁸ See *Noche oscura del espíritu*, xxiii, expounding the line "A oscuras y en celada."

receive supernatural sight ; while the soul that would cling to any light of its own, will be but the blinder, and be impeded in the way of union.”¹ The wise soul presses on, and little by little nears the end of its journey ; the Dark Night closes ; and the soul reaches the state of complete and final union with the Beloved. This is the goal of her pilgrimage—the “ Spiritual Marriage,” which forms the theme of the *Living Flame of Love*, and that of part of the *Spiritual Canticle*.

This, as has already been seen, is quite another state than the Spiritual Betrothal, which is the “ fruition of God by grace only.”

In the one there is mutual love, but in the other there is communication of the self likewise, and the difference is as great as that which exists between betrothal and matrimony. For in betrothal there is but a mutual consent, and agreement of will on either side, and the jewels and the adornments of the betrothal, which the lover (*desposado*) graciously gives to his beloved (*desposada*). But in matrimony there is communication between the two persons, and there is union ; whereas in betrothal, the lover (*esposo*) from time to time visits his beloved (*esposa*), and bestows gifts upon her, as we have said ; but there is no union of their persons, which is the end of the betrothal.²

Spiritual marriage, or Union, means the soul’s transformation in God. “ It is a complete transformation of the soul in the Beloved, whereby each surrenders to the other the entire possession of itself in the consummation of Love’s union ; herein the soul becomes divine—becomes God, by participation in God—so far, that is, as in this life may be possible.”³

Such transformation does not imply loss of the personality of the Lover. Though the thread of love (*hilo de amor*) “ binds together God and the soul and unites them so strongly that it transforms them and makes them one through love,” the two are “ different in substance,” and “ the soul appears to be God, and God the soul.”⁴

¹ *Subida*, II, iii (*Obras*, vol. *ib*, p. 109).

² *Llama*, III, iii, 3 (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 441–2). Cf. St. Teresa, *Moradas*, v, chap. 4 ; vii, chap. 2, and p. 253, above.

³ *Cántico*, 22 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 278).

⁴ *Cántico*, 31. Anotación (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 324).

And the soul prays thus as it contemplates these mysteries :

By the medium of this exercise of love aforementioned, let us attain ¹ to the vision of one another in Thy beauty in the eternal life ; that is to say, let me be transformed in Thy beauty, that being alike in Thy beauty, we may see ourselves both in Thy beauty, and I may have Thine own beauty. So, as we gaze the one at the other, each may see in the other his own beauty, the beauty of each being Thy beauty alone, and I absorbed therein. And thus shall I see Thee in Thy beauty, and Thou in Thy beauty wilt see me, and I shall see myself in Thee in Thy beauty, and Thou in Thy beauty wilt see Thyself in me. So may I appear like to Thee in Thy beauty, and Thou in Thy beauty appear like to me, and my beauty be Thine, and Thine be mine. Thus shall I be Thyself in Thy beauty, and Thou in Thy beauty wilt be myself ; for Thy beauty will be my beauty, and each of us shall see the other in Thy beauty.²

This is so lofty a state and so intimate a union as to defy representation and to challenge thought itself. St. John of the Cross writes of it at all only under protest, and in the interests of those whom he would serve. " I have felt a certain repugnance," he says, " to expounding these four stanzas (' Living Flame of Love ') . . . for they treat of things so intimate and spiritual that for the most part language fails in describing them."³ And, when his exposition is concluded, he writes : " Of this aspiration, full of glory and good and the delicate love of God for the soul,⁴ I have not desired to speak, nor do I now desire it, for I see clearly that I have not the gifts, nor would the reality appear as great as it is, were I to expound it."⁵ He searches vainly for a perfect image by which he may describe the Unitive Life. The soul is

¹ The soul is addressing the Beloved—poetically, be it understood.

² *Cántico*, 36 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 345). In spite of the boldness of this passage the reader is warned in *Canción* 1 that however lofty communications a soul may have of God in this life they are not " of God essentially." It is difficult, however, to reconcile this with the language used elsewhere by the author, though I know no place where it is definitely contradicted.

³ Prologue to *Llama de amor viva* (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 383-4).

⁴ A reference to the concluding lines of the poem. See p. 278, below.

⁵ Concluding lines of *Llama de amor viva*. *Llama*, iv (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 483).

a window, so perfectly cleansed as to seem one with the rays of the sun which strike it, and, as it were, giving forth light of itself¹ :

Let us make a comparison : the rays of the sun are striking a window. . . . If it be perfectly pure and clean the sun's ray will illumine and transform it, in such wise that it will seem to be the ray itself and give the same light ; though in truth the window, alike as it seems to the sun's ray, has a nature of its own distinct from it. Yet we may say that that window is by participation a ray of light or light itself.²

Or the soul is a " star " or a " candle," the light of which is united and made one with the light of the sun, so that now that which shines is not the star, or the candle, but the light of the sun, which within itself holds all other lights absorbed.³

Nay more, the soul in union is so much a part of her Beloved that her mortal life is no more than a frail web⁴ which the rays of the sun completely penetrate : " so spiritualized is the soul, so beautified and so refined, that the Divinity shines wholly through it." ⁵ None of these metaphors will bear the closest examination, for each represents but part of a truth which no image can fully tell. But the one element common to all—the image of light—runs through the poem and the exposition (*Living Flame of Love*) which attempt to describe the life of Union.

The figure of a consuming flame is more apt than any

¹ *Subida*, II, iv (*Obras*, vol. ib, pp. 114-5).

² *Ibid.* (p. 114).

³ *Cántico*, 22 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 279).

⁴ *Llama*, i, commenting the lines " Rompe la tela de este dulce encuentro " (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 403-9).

⁵ *Llama*, i (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 405). The context explains the metaphor thus : " It is called a web for three reasons : first, because of the bond which exists between spirit and flesh ; secondly, because it makes a division between God and the soul ; thirdly, because the web is not so thick and dense but that the light may shine through it, even as in this state the bond appears as a web so delicate, and so spiritualized is the soul, so beautified and so refined, that the Divinity shines wholly through it. And when the soul feels the force of the life to come, it begins to realize the weakness of this. So that it seems to the soul the finest of webs, even the web of a spider for fineness " (pp. 405-6).

of the preceding because it may be applied to the whole life-process more commonly spoken of as a journey. The soul in union with God is described by the poet as transformed and glowing in the fire of love. "The difference between transformation in love and the flame of love is that of the glowing fuel and a flame proceeding from it."¹ During the process of purification the flame burned, not only to wound, but to cause grievous pain.² But having achieved its first object—having driven the last drop of moisture from the fuel,³ and made it to be, apart from it, in appearance of hideous blackness—the fuel is now itself flame, and one with the flame which burns with it⁴ :

This flame of love is the spirit of the Bridegroom—that is, the Holy Spirit—Whom the soul feels now to be within it, not only as fire which has consumed and transformed it into sweetness of love, but also as fire that burns in it and sends out flame, as I said. That flame, whensoever it is kindled, bathes the soul in glory, and refreshes it by immersion in the divine life ; and such is the operation of the Holy Spirit in the soul that is transformed in love. . . .

Wherefore we may say of the soul that is in this state of transformation of love that in its ordinary condition it is like to the log of wood which is planted in the fire ; and the acts of this soul are the flames, which proceed from the fire of love—the more intense is the fire of their union, the more vehemently do they issue forth from it. And in these flames are united and soar upwards the acts of the will that is absorbed and carried away in the fire of the Holy Spirit.⁴

In commenting the line which speaks of the "wound of love,"⁵ St. John of the Cross changes the figure somewhat, but preserves the reference to fire :

¹ *Llama*, i, commenting the lines "O llama de amor viva" (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 389-91).

² *Llama*, i ("Pues no eres esquivia") (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 397-402).

³ Cf. *Avisos*, 206 : "As a log of wood is not transformed into fire by reason of a single degree of heat which it lacks, even so a soul is not perfectly transformed in God by reason of a single imperfection which yet remains in it." (*Obras*, vol. iii, p. 38.)

⁴ *Llama*, i ("O llama de amor viva") (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 389-90).

⁵ *Llama*, ii ("O regalada llaga") (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 412-6).

This burn (*cauterio*¹) and wound may be understood of the highest degree that is possible in this state, for there are many other manners wherein God may cauterize (*cauterizar*) the soul, which are neither so high as this nor are like to it, for this is the contact (*toque*) only of divinity in the soul, without form or figure soever, whether intellectual or imaginary. . . .

The soul feels itself to be transpierced : who can speak as is meet concerning its exquisite delight ? . . . It is as though seas of fire were within it, filling it with love.²

Again we have a variation upon the image of flames in the chapter commenting the line " O lamps of fire ! "

Whence it follows how admirable is the joy and rapture of love which the soul receives in the fire of the light of these lamps—how immeasurable it is, how abundant, as though it were of many lamps each burning with love, the heat of the one feeding the heat of the other, as the flame of the one feeds the flame of the other, and the light of the one the light of the other. All form but one light and one fire, and yet each is a fire. And the soul is profoundly absorbed in delicious flames, subtly wounded in each of them, and in the whole more subtly wounded in love of life. She begins to see more clearly that this love is eternal life, which is the union of all blessings. In this state the soul knows well the truth of the Bridegroom's saying in the *Song of Songs*, where he says "*Lampades eius, lampades ignis, atque flammarum*"—that is, that the lamps of love were lamps of fire and of flames.³

The happy seeker who has reached this state of bliss (and the number of such is necessarily small⁴) has only now one desire, " that the frail web of this natural life

¹ A reference to the line " ¡ O cauterio suave ! "

² *Llama*, ii (" ¡ O regalada llaga ! "). In this chapter there is a description of an intellectual vision of cauterization which corresponds closely with St. Teresa's description of the transverberation of her heart, and alludes to St. Francis' visitation also.

³ *Llama*, iii (" ¡ O lámparas de fuego ! ") (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 430-34). The final reference is of course to Cant. viii, 6 (Vulgate).

⁴ St. John of the Cross frequently insists upon this—e.g. in *Llama*, i (" Pues ya no eres esquivia "), where he says of the Night of the Spirit : " This purgation is as violent as this in few souls—only in such as the Lord desires to raise to the highest degree of union." See also p. 256 above.

may be broken,"¹ and that she may enjoy the Beatific Vision for ever² :

“ Acaba ya si quieres,
Rompe la tela de este dulce encuentro.”³

This is the desire of the enamoured soul, which brooks no delay in its expectation of the natural end of its life, of the cutting of the web at such or such a time, for the strength of its love and the disposition which it sees in itself cause it to desire and pray that its life may be broken in some supernatural effort or encounter of love. Well knows the soul in this state that God is wont to bear away before their time such souls as He greatly loves, perfecting them in a brief space by means of this love, which at their ordinary rate of progress they would be long in winning. . . .

It is then as though the soul were to say : “ Oh, flame of the Holy Spirit, that so deeply and tenderly dost pierce the very substance of my soul and burnest it with Thy glorious heat ! Since Thou hast such favour toward me that Thou showest Thy desire to grant me Thyself in life eternal : if until now my petitions have not reached Thine ears, when, wearied and yearning with love, wherein both my sense and my spirit laboured through my great weakness and impurity and defect of love, I prayed Thee to loose me and bear me away with Thee, since with desire my soul desired Thee, and the impatience of my love suffered me not to conform wholly with that condition of life which Thou desiredst me still to live ; and if my past efforts of love sufficed not, because they were not of the fervour needful to attain their ends—now, I pray, now that I am so strengthened in love that not only do my senses and my spirit faint in Thee, but my heart and my flesh are strengthened by Thee and rejoice in the living God, uniting themselves wholly : I pray for that which Thou willest that I pray for ; and that which Thou desirest not, I desire not, nor can desire, neither does it pass through my mind to desire it. And now that my petitions are of more worth and avail before Thee, since

¹ *Llama*, i (“ Rompe la tela de este dulce encuentro ”) (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 403-9).

² Because, great as the wonders of the Spiritual Marriage are, they are not as great “ as the beatific vision of God in the life to come ; for, although the soul in this mortal life may attain to so high a state of perfection as that whereof we speak here, it attains not, nor can it attain, to the perfect state of glory ” (*Llama*, i, “ De mi alma en el más profundo centro ” ; *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 392-6).

³ “ Make thou an end of me

And break the bond of this encounter sweet.”

Cf. *Subida*, II, iv ; *Cántico*, 36-40, *passim* ; *Llama*, i (exposition of the two lines quoted, *Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 402-9).

they proceed from Thee and Thou movest me thereto, and I pray to Thee with joy and sweetness in the Holy Spirit . . . break Thou the frail web of this life, and let me not remain till it is snapped in the course of nature by my age and years, that I may indeed love Thee with the fulness and abundance which my soul desires without term nor end.¹

This is the theme of the final stanza of the *Spiritual Canticle*. "Let us rejoice, Beloved," says the Bride, but also : "Let us enter into the heart of the thicket"²—even through the agonies of death. And again : "We will go now to the deep caverns of the rock, so securely hidden. There we will enter, and Thou wilt show me that which my soul desired."³ Bride and Bridegroom together will enter, "for when God and the soul are united in this estate of spiritual matrimony of which we are speaking, the soul does naught alone but is ever with God."⁴ And this is true for the soul in union, of life as of death.

"All these perfections," concludes the exposition, "the Bride sets forth before her Beloved, the Son of God, desiring the while to be taken by Him from the Spiritual Marriage to which God has been pleased to bring her in the Church Militant, into the glorious Marriage of the Church Triumphant, to which may He bring those who call upon the Holy Name of Jesus, that sweetest Lover of all faithful souls. . . . Amen."⁵

¹ *Llama*, i ("Rompe la tela de este dulce encuentro") (*Obras*, vol. ii, pp. 403-9).

² *Cf.* Canción 36 :

Gocémonos, Amado,
Y vámonos a ver en tu hermosura
Al monte y al collado,
Do mana el agua pura ;
Entremos más adentro en la espesura.

See also the exposition of this stanza. St. John of the Cross, it should be noted, interprets it, together with the succeeding stanzas, in a double sense—as referring to the Unitive Life on earth, and also to the experiences of the life to come.

³ *Cf.* Canción 37 :

Y luego a las subidas
Cavernas de la piedra nos iremos,
Que están bien escondidas,
Y allí nos entraremos,
Y el mosto de granadas gustaremos.

⁴ *Cántico espiritual*, 37 ("Y allí nos entraremos") (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 351).

⁵ Concluding words of *Cántico*, 40 (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 369).

IV

We turn now specifically to the small body of work by which St. John of the Cross is principally known in Spanish literature : his lyrics. To many, both of his own country and of others, he is first and foremost a poet, a conscious and skilful artist,¹ as well as one of the most purely ethereal and deeply spiritual who ever lived. Even in his own prolific and distinguished age he was conspicuous, and a comparatively small number of poems has sufficed to make him immortal. It will not, then, be doing him an injustice if we chiefly limit our examination to three of his best known lyrics, which form the basis of the prose works already studied.

The poem entitled *Songs of the Soul* ("Canciones del alma"), but more generally known by its first line "On a dark night . . ." ("En una noche oscura . . ."), describes the soul's pilgrimage through the Dark Night of Faith towards her Divine Lover. The first stanzas may be interpreted also of an earlier journey—the transition from the soul's original state to the summit of the life of illumination—and it is hard to resist the conclusion that the poet was not unmindful also of the darkness of the night on which he stole from his prison at Toledo :

En una noche oscura,
Con ansias en amores inflamada,
¡ Oh dichosa ventura !
Salí sin ser notada,
Estando ya mi casa sosegada.

¹ A certain type of religious mind (the type that likes to think of St. Teresa writing the *Mansions* by a mechanical sort of "inspiration") will find incongruity in this phrase. But it is surely justified by the note written by St. John of the Cross himself to the *Llama de Amor Viva* explaining that the metre is taken from Boscán (and the *líras* are "vueltas a lo divino"). "In which," he adds, "are six feet, and the fourth rimes with the first, the fifth with the second and the sixth with the third." This note is found in all the MSS. and is undeniably authentic. The fact that the lines which he quotes as being Boscán's are really Garcilaso's does not affect the importance of his having written the note, and copied so artificial a metre. The works of Garcilaso and Boscán were originally, and for some time, published in one volume, after Garcilaso's death, first by Boscán and later by his widow. And in this edition Boscán's poems naturally take the premier place. St. John of the Cross' more famous five-line stanza was also a favourite metre of Garcilaso.

A oscuras y segura,
 Por la secreta escala, disfrazada,
 ¡ Oh dichosa ventura !
 A oscuras, y en celada,
 Estando ya mi casa sosegada.

Upon an obscure night,
 Fevered with love in love's anxiety,
 (O hapless, happy plight !)
 I went, none seeing me,
 Forth from my house where all things quiet be.

By night, secure from sight,
 And by the secret stair disguisedly,
 (O hapless, happy plight !)
 By night and privily,
 Forth from my house where all things quiet be.

Silently, and unseen, the Soul leaves the dark-wrapt
 House of Sense, to start her journey through the glorious
 night with none to direct her save that light which burns
 in the soul :

En la noche dichosa,
 En secreto, que nadie me veía,
 Ni yo miraba cosa,
 Sin otra luz y guía,
 Sino la que en el corazôn ardía.

Blest night of wandering,
 In secret, where by none might I be spied,
 Nor I see anything ;
 Without a light or guide,
 Save that which in my heart burnt in my side.

More surely than by the noonday sun is she guided
 by that fire aglow within her breast. Nay—by a sudden
 apostrophe—it is the very Night that guides, that Night
 which is more kindly than the dawn :

Aquesta me guiaba
 Más cierto que la luz del medio día,
 A donde me esperaba,
 Quien yo bien me sabía,
 En parte donde nadie parecía.

¡ Oh noche, que guiaste,
Oh noche amable más que la alborada,
Oh noche, que juntaste
Amado con amada,
Amada en el Amado transformada !

That light did lead me on,
More surely than the shining of noontide,
Where well I knew that One
Did for my coming bide ;
Where he abode might none but he abide,

O night that didst lead thus,
O night more lovely than the dawn of light,
O night that broughtest us,
Lover to lover's sight,
Lover with loved in marriage of delight.

So, when the goal is reached, it is on the breast of His faithful one that the Bridegroom sleeps. The breath of the cedars gently fans His brow ; the perfume of the lilies drowns the sorrows which once oppressed the Bride : and complete self-oblivion follows perfect union :

En mi pecho florido,
Que entero para él solo se guardaba,
Allí quedô dormido,
Y yo le regalaba,
Y el ventalle de cedros aire daba.

El aire del almena,
Cuando ya sus cabellos esparcía
Con su mano serena,
En mi cuello hería
Y todos mis sentidos suspendía.

Quedéme y olvidéme,
El rostro recliné sobre el Amado ;
Cesô todo, y dejéme,
Dejando mi cuidado
Entre las azucenas olvidado.

Upon my flowery breast,
Wholly for him, and save himself for none,
There did I give sweet rest
To my beloved one ;
The fanning of the cedars breathed thereon.

When the first moving air
 Blew from his tower, and waved his locks aside,
 His hand, with gentle care,
 Did wound me in the side,
 And in my body all my senses died.

All things I then forgot,
 My cheek on him who for my coming came ;
 All ceased, and I was not,
 Leaving my cares and shame
 Among the lilies and forgetting them.

These, then, are the verses which have frequently been described as the greatest mystical poem in the language. To our own thinking there is no disputing this ; if form, as well as sentiment, is taken into consideration, this poem of the Dark Night must rank with the finest short pieces in modern literature. It defies translation, though it has provoked it again and again. Technically, every line rings true : there is not a flaw in all the perfect workmanship of the poem, and there can surely be no language in which the delicate languor of the feminine endings would unite with the sonority of the exquisitely chosen epithets to produce so wonderful an effect of tenderness combined with strength. Note, too, the richness, yet the restraint of the poet's imagery, the judicious and skilful emotional use of repetition, the sudden transition from the quiet confidence of the fourth stanza to the rapturous apostrophe of the fifth, the more startling by its apparently paradoxical opening :

¡ Oh noche, que guiaste !
 ¡ Oh noche amable más que la alborada ! . . .¹

Note the appeal to the imagery which has its basis in the senses of touch and hearing as well as that which depends upon sight. Note, finally, an indefinable ecstatic quality in the poem, which, nameless though it must of necessity be, stirs the whole being of the mystically-minded reader, and touches chords in the hearts of all who have a spark of poetry in their nature.

¹ O night that didst lead thus,
 O night more lovely than the dawn of light.

The *Spiritual Canticle*, which is considerably longer than this first poem, owes more than any other work of its author to the *Song of Songs*. It opens in a minor key: the Bridegroom is no longer present: He has disappeared as it were a fleet-footed hart, and His Bride, sorely perplexed, starts up as she discovers her loss, and cries to Him, but in vain:

¿ A dónde te escondiste,
Amado, y me dejaste con gemido ?
Como el ciervo huiste,
Habiéndome herido ;
Salí tras ti clamando, y eras ido.

Whither hast vanishèd,
Belovèd, and hast left me full of woe ?
And like the hart hast sped,
Wounding, ere Thou didst go,
Thy love, who followed, weeping, high and low.

Her anguish knows no bounds. She must go to seek Him: over hills, down dales, across streams, through woods, heeding neither bounds nor wild beasts, begging news of her Lover from fields, flowers and living creatures alike. And to her feverish question the creatures only make reply :

Mil gracias derramando
Pasó por estos sotos con presura,
Y yéndolos mirando,
Con sola su figura
Vestidos los dejó de su hermosura.

Graces He scatterèd
As through the woods and groves He passed apace,
Clothing them, as He sped,
In each and every place,
With loveliest reflection of His Face.

Again the soul makes complaint: she is wounded, and none can heal her wound save the Beloved. Let Him come to her Himself: no angel, no saint, no form, no rite can console her, for the more they speak to her of

the Well-Beloved, the deeper grows the wound of His love. Her true being is in Him, and she is like to die. "It is Thou hast planted these darts of love in my heart," she cries. "Heal the soul Thou hast wounded. Still Thou all my griefs, and let mine eyes behold Thee, for Thou alone art their light, and I would see Thee, even should the glory of the vision take my life." ¹

Descubre tu presencia,
Y máteme tu vista y hermosura ;
Mira que la dolencia
De amor, que no se cura
Sino con la presencia y la figura.²

Reveal Thyself, I cry,
E'en though the glory of Thy presence kill,
For sick of love am I,
And nought can cure my ill
Save only if of Thee I have my fill.

And she is about to rise on the wings of ecstasy when she hears the gentle voice of the Well-Beloved calling her to the heights whither He has fled. He, too, is wounded ("for with lovers," says St. John of the Cross in the commentary, "the wound of one is the wound of both" ³). She perceives Him : they meet, and are re-united. In a pæan of joy and thanksgiving the soul points her Beloved to mountain and valley, to island and river, to all the music and beauty of Nature :

¹ *Cántico*, Canciones 9, 10 :

¿Por qué, pues has llagado
A aqueste corazón, no le sanaste ?
Y pues me le has robado,
¿Por qué así le dejaste,
Y no tomas el robo que robaste ?
Apaga mis enojos,
Pues que ninguno basta a deshacellos,
Y véante mis ojos,
Pues eres lumbre de ellos
Y sólo para ti quiero tenellos.

² *Cántico*, Canción 11.

³ *Declaración del Cántico espiritual*, Canción 13.

Mi Amado, las montañas,
Los valles solitarios nemorosos,
Las ínsulas extrañas,
Los ríos sonorosos,
El silbo de los aires amorosos.

La noche sosegada
En par de los levantes de la aurora,
La música callada,
La soledad sonora,
La cena, que recrea y enamora.

Beloved, see, the hills,
The lonely valleys clad with forest-trees,
The rushing, sounding rills,
Strange islands, pleasant leas,
With lovers' whispers borne upon the breeze.

Here is the hush of night,
And dawn's first breathings in the heaven above,
Soft music veiled from sight,
Calm that can echoes move,
The Feast that brings new strength—the Feast of love.

In language which most evidently is borrowed from the *Song of Songs*, she pleads for the perfecting of their union. Let the harmful foxes be driven away, and let the gentle south wind blow, for the Beloved will rest among the lilies, in the garden of the Bride. None may come nigh them now; the Divine Lover is about to admit the waiting soul to the innermost mansion. The Well-Beloved speaks, and all things hurtful are silenced. Then begins the longest passage in the dialogue: a canticle of ten stanzas, in which the Soul, enraptured by the new state of joy into which she has entered, sings the glories of her Beloved:

Mi alma se ha empleado,
Y todo mi caudal, en su servicio,
Ya no guardo ganado
Ni ya tengo otro oficio,
Que ya solo en amar es mi ejercicio.

No quieras despreciarme,
 Que si color moreno en mí hallaste,
 Ya bien puedes mirarme,
 Después que me miraste :
 Que gracia y hermosura en mí dejaste.¹

My soul herself has spent
 In serving Him she loves, with all her might
 To no base office lent,
 No wealth has she by right :
 Love is her work, and love her sole delight.

Despise me not, I pray,
 For if, in truth, uncomely once was I,
 Thou cam'st to me one day,
 Looking on me from high,
 And now Thy beauty shrouds my misery.

Upon this song breaks the low reply of the Well-Beloved, likening His Bride to the dove which has returned to the Ark. And in lines which by eulogizing solitude carry us back to the earlier poem of the Dark Night, the poet recalls the road along which the soul has travelled. In solitude she lived, in solitude she was content to make her rest, by this very passion for solitude she was guided ("O night that didst lead thus . . ."); and alone, with intervention of neither person nor power, she was sought and wooed by One Who in solitude has suffered for her.²

The soul, then, has entered at last into the state of Union. She speaks in figure of those secret caverns where no earthly light can shine—or needs to shine, for all is clear as day—of the bliss of her present perfected state, and the certain hope of the Eternal Vision hereafter:

¹ *Cántico*, Canciones 28, 33.

² *Cántico*, Canción 35 :

En soledad vivía,
 Y en soledad ha puesto ya su nido,
 Y en soledad la guía
 A solas su querido,
 También en soledad de amor herido.

Gocémonos, Amado,
Y vámonos a ver en tu hermosura
Al monte y al collado,
Do mana el agua pura ;
Entremos más adentro en la espesura.

Y luego a las subidas
Cavernas de la piedra nos iremos,
Que están bien escondidas,
Y allí nos entraremos,
Y el mosto de granadas gustaremos.¹

Beloved, let us sing !
Clothed in Thy beauty now is every hill.
From each pure waterspring,
Climb we to drink our fill,
Then enter in the forest farther still.

And go we at the last
To caverns hidden in the rocks on high.
Here, all our troubles past,
Enter we, Thou and I,
To drink new wine of gladness joyfully

This poem, though but two hundred lines in length, is pregnant with thought, and full of the deepest inward significance. No brief analysis can do it even the barest justice ; it must be read as it stands for its beauty to be fully realized, and it becomes progressively more illuminating as the author's commentary is studied with it.

Both the *Canticle* and the *Dark Night* combine with their wealth of mystical significance the most delicate sensibility towards Nature. " We hear the 'sounding cataracts,' the rustling of the gentlest breeze, the song of the nightingale, the trickling of the stream ; feel the breath of the wind stirred by the cedars, the still, silent evening, the deep calm of night, the howling storm and the driving rain ; catch the perfume of the lily, the rose, the fragrant amber ; see the woods and meadows, the islands of an undiscovered sea, the deserted valleys, the forests infested by wild beasts, the wounded stag panting

¹ *Cántico*, Canciones 36, 37.

on the hill side, the dove finding her mate safe by the grassy banks.”¹ In the third poem, however—*Living Flame of Love* (*Llama de amor viva*)—there is none of all this. Wholly concerned with the highest state of all, it is not a story but a picture. It is all imagery, and the imagery is all of heat and light. “Throbbing ceaselessly through it is that flame which wounds, and, as it wounds, heals. Shedding soft radiance over it are the seven strangely beauteous lamps with which God pierces the deep caverns of feeling that He may perfectly illumine the perfect soul”² :

LLAMA DE AMOR VIVA

¡ Oh llama de amor viva,
Que tiernamente hieres
De mi alma en el más profundo centro !
Pues ya no eres esquivo,
Acaba ya, si quieres,
Rompe la tela deste dulce encuentro.

¡ Oh cauterio suave !
¡ Oh regalada llaga !
¡ Oh mano blanda ! ¡ Oh toque delicado,
Que a vida eterna sabe,
Y toda deuda paga,
Matando, muerte en vida la has trocado !

¡ Oh lámparas de fuego,
En cuyos resplandores
Las profundas cavernas del sentido
Que estaba oscuro y ciego,
Con extraños primores
Calor y luz dan junto a su querido !

¡ Cuán manso y amoroso
Recuerdas en mi seno,
Donde secretamente solo moras,
Y en tu aspirar sabroso,
De bien y gloria lleno,
Cuán delicadamente me enamoras !

¹ *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 28-9.

² *Ibid.* p. 29.

LIVING FLAME OF LOVE

O flame of living love
That dost eternally
Pierce through my soul with so consuming heat,
Since there's no help above,
Make thou an end of me,
And break the bond of this encounter sweet.

O burn that burns to heal !
O more than pleasant wound !
And O soft hand, O touch most delicate,
That dost new life reveal,
That dost in grace abound,
And slaying, dost from death to life translate.

O lamps of fire that shined
With so intense a light
That those dark caverns where the senses live,
Which were obscure and blind,
Now with strange glories bright,
Both heat and light to his belovèd give.

With how benign intent
Rememberest thou my breast
Where thou alone abidest secretly,
And in thy sweet ascent,
With glory and good possessed,
How delicately thou teachest love to me.

This poem—rather this burst of rapture from the soul which has attained to the ever-deepening bliss of transformation—is so short that no analysis of it can be attempted ; so full of hidden beauties that once again the author's commentary becomes all but essential to its appreciation ; so exquisitely musical in its cadences that it needs to be read in the original idiom, which alone can do it justice. It is perhaps the most purely ethereal of all its author's poems, the spirit of which was so boldly expressed by Menéndez Pelayo when he said "They seem to be the work not of a man, but of an angel."¹

The *Living Flame of Love* is a poem, as we have said, of the life of transformation in union. "In the stanzas

¹ *Estudios de crítica literaria* (1ª Serie, Madrid, 1884), p. 50.

set forth above," says the author, referring to the final verses of the *Canticle*, "we spoke of the highest degree of perfection which can be attained in this life, to wit, transformation in God; yet these present verses treat of a love still more perfect and refined in that same state of transformation. For though . . . the state be the same and cannot be surpassed, still with time and the practice of devotion the soul is more deeply grounded and further refined in love. Just so, when the fire has caught a log of wood, the wood is transformed into the fire and made one with it; nevertheless, the hotter grows the fire and the longer the wood remains in it, the more it burns and glows, till it sends forth flames and sparks of its own. Thus the soul . . . is not only made one with the divine fire, but becomes itself a living flame."¹

These three poems are by a long way the best that St. John of the Cross ever wrote. Next to them, with a large part of their fervour, a strong emotional appeal, but less of purely literary skill, come the lines which bear the refrain "Although 'tis night."² On much the same level are two other poems in the metre of the *Dark Night*: their authenticity is generally believed in, though not established beyond all doubt, and they may with reason be considered here. The earlier, which is headed "The soul desires to be with Christ,"³ has fifty-two stanzas, of which thirty, on grounds both internal and external, are thought by P. Gerardo to be an interpolation.⁴ These stanzas are an imaginative picture of Heaven, in language recalling the *Spiritual Canticle* and Luis de León's *Heavenly Life*,⁵ but rather more florid than either. The remainder of the poem is little more than an expansion in verse—one might say an over-expansion—of the

¹ *Llama*, Prólogo (*Obras*, vol. ii, p. 385).

² "Song of the soul that rejoices to know God by faith." See p. 236, above, where a few stanzas are quoted.

³ "Ansia el alma estar con Cristo" (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 186-93).

⁴ *Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 146-7.

⁵ See pp. 304-5, below. I am bound to add that there are lines (e.g. in stanzas 18 and 22) which strongly suggest St. John of the Cross, and I do not find any *inferiority* of style—rather a *difference*. Still the grounds of rejection are considerable.

title : the desire of the soul for God, the bliss of attainment, the longing to depart :

Del agua de la vida
Mi alma tuvo sed insaciable ;
Desea la salida
Del cuerpo miserable,
Para beber de esta agua perdurable.

.

Dichosa y venturosa
El alma que a su Dios tiene presente ;
Oh mil veces dichosa,
Pues bebe de una fuente
Que no se ha de agotar eternamente.

¡ Oh patria verdadera,
Descanso de las almas que en ti moran,
Consolación entera
A donde ya no lloran
Los justos, mas con gozo a Dios adoran!

Athirst for streams of life,
My yearning soul will not be satisfied.
She longs to end this strife,
No more in flesh to abide
But quench desire in this eternal tide.

.

Happy the soul and blest
That to the presence of her God attains.
There finds she perfect rest,
And those blest waters gains
Wherein she drinks oblivion of her pains.

True native land, all hail !
Thou perfect rest of souls that in thee dwell,
Bliss that can never fail,
Where saints bid woe farewell,
And worship God with joy that none can tell !¹

These are typical stanzas : a few are inferior, and

¹ Stanzas 1, 34, 35.

unusually halting for the work of St. John of the Cross, but others, even in the supposed interpolation, rise almost to the height of his greatest poems.

Less certainly his are the verses "of the soul that grieves because it may not love God so much as it would."¹ These have only twelve stanzas, and begin typically, both in imagery and style :

Si de mi baja suerte
Las llamas del amor tan fuertes fuesen
Que absorbiesen la muerte,
Y tanto más creciesen
Que las aguas del mar también ardiesen.

.

No pienso que podría,
Según la viva sed de amor que siento,
Amar como querría ;
Ni las llamas que cuento,
Satisfacer mi sed por un momento.²

Were love's o'erpowering flame,
In this our miserable life below,
Stronger than death's dread name,
And could it stronger grow,
Engulfing e'en the sea's unending flow,

.

E'en then I could not love
So that my yearning heart were satisfied,
Nor quench the thirst from above,
That will not be denied,
With flames that in my soul do now abide.

So the poet endeavours vainly to express the impotence and the desire which together oppress him, and prays that his desire might have strength to soar above its present height and its flames reach even to God Himself, to be transformed in the Eternal Love :

¹ "Canciones del alma que se duele de que no puede amar a Dios tanto como desea" (*Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 193-5).

² Stanzas 1, 3.

Que de su eterno fuego
 Con ímpetus ardientes embestidas,
 Serían absortas luego,
 Absortas y embebidas
 Y ya en eterno fuego convertidas.¹

That ere this life is done,
 With gathering impulse, mounting ever higher,
 They may be made as one
 With the eternal fire,
 And lose themselves in eternity of desire.

The remaining verses, attributed with certainty to St. John of the Cross, may be divided into two classes. There are a number of sets of *coplas* and *glosas* on the pattern of the well-known "I live, yet live not in myself" of St. Teresa²—one of them has this identical refrain—which run smoothly enough for the most part, but rise to no great heights. There is, secondly, a collection of *romances*, written in the traditional metre, and based upon doctrinal subjects. We ought not perhaps to set up a standard of pure literature for verse written in accordance with a convention that popular expositions of religious truths should be rhymed. Yet it is impossible not to regret these pages of octosyllabics, from which, though they were written by one of the greatest of Spanish poets, almost every spark of poetry seems to have fled.³

¹ Stanza 10. That the reference is to this life is evident from the context.

² See p. 208, above.

³ The first of these *romances* begins:

En el principio moraba
 El Verbo, y en Dios vivía,
 En quien su felicidad
 Infinita poseía.
 El mismo Verbo Dios era,
 Que el principio se decía;
 El moraba en el principio,
 Y principio no tenía. . . .

V

No one would claim for the prose of St. John of the Cross such qualities as belong to his verse. At times it attains an unusual degree of clarity, so marked as almost to make us forget the intricacy and profundity of his argument. But for the most part, through the length and construction of the sentences, it tends to be obscure, and thus makes harder to read what in itself is of sufficient difficulty.¹ St. John of the Cross as a stylist in prose can rank no higher than Osuna. He is probably inferior to Juan de los Ángeles, most certainly so to St. Teresa, while he falls far below Luis de León.

Something has been said above of his feeling for nature. Perhaps it might be said that the intensity of his personal feeling strikes us as weak by comparison with the fineness of the artistic expression which he gives to it. In his Andalucian wanderings he must have seen much of the more luxuriant side of nature ; in the solitude of Peñuela he could appreciate its rugged majesty. Contemporaries tell how at Segovia he would remain all night long at the window of his cell, looking out upon the heavens and the country,² or how he loved to kneel in prayer among the trees and to rise at dawn, and remain in contemplation by the osier beds at the water's edge until the heat of the sun compelled him to seek shade.³ But these accounts do not greatly impress the reader of St. John of the Cross, nor incline him to revise the estimate which he had formed from studying the Saint's writings. It seems unlikely that the contemplative saw much with the eyes of the body when he looked out from his Segovian cell. It was the artist in St. John of the Cross that appreciated the beauties of nature, and hence they are given a very restricted expression in his works. We do not wholly agree with M. Baruzi, therefore, in his considered judgment, which nevertheless should be quoted, as its point of view has much that will commend it to

¹ See, for an example, pp. 267-8, above.

² Juan Evangelista, *cit.* Baruzi, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

³ *Ibid.*

careful readers, and nothing of the evidence available to us can be called decisive :

Il est en tout cas probable que Jean de la Croix a expérimenté une extase qui n'est pas fréquente dans le mysticisme catholique et qui est une adhésion intense à la beauté cosmique. Cette absorption dans la nature totale, qui sans doute a rendu possibles, chez Jean de la Croix, certains vers, n'a pas été lyriquement prolongée, dans les œuvres théoriques. Mais le symbole même de la nuit, l'analyse de l'expression symbolique nous en convaincra, en est peut-être la traduction plastique. On comprend moins d'abord comment Jean de la Croix a pu goûter la nature en son détail. Les témoignages pourtant ne laissent aucun doute à cet égard : Jean de la Croix a aimé les rochers, les arbres, les eaux courantes. Mais c'est que la contemplation extatique surgit au moment où il semblerait que seules les apparences fussent considérées. Dans la mesure où il est possible de dépasser l'académisme des dépositions, nous entrevoyons une contemplation naturelle extatique, qui tantôt se tend vers un spectacle cosmique, tantôt s'absorbe en une perception choisie, laquelle est peu à peu transformée en une sorte d'absolu.¹

We agree with the writer in this at least, that the one thing in nature which did appeal to the whole of the man—contemplative as well as artist—was night : the darkness of a starless midnight, the mystery of twilight, the approach of dawn. So much is shown in his verse and prose alike :

Jean de la Croix a aimé la nuit physique ; il l'a suivie à travers ses phases d'obscurité croissante et ses promesses d'aurore. Il a regardé l'immensité nocturne, pour lui sans doute mystérieux mélange de musique essentielle et de silence sensible. La solitude, naguère encore abstraite et froide, est devenue la "solitude sonore."²

From the literary standpoint, one obvious question remains to be asked concerning St. John of the Cross : how far was he original ?

For all his studies at Salamanca, he does not, even in his commentaries, produce work remarkable for its use

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 287-8.

² *Ibid.* p. 317. The writer has in mind, and quotes, the phrases *la música callada* and *la soledad sonora* from the *Cántico espiritual*, 15. Many other phrases from the poems might be added. I am inclined to connect with this love of night the obvious attraction which the symbols of light and fire had for St. John of the Cross, as great as that of water for St. Teresa (see p. 153, above).

of the writings of others. St. Thomas Aquinas would seem to have been his chief master. He also, but very infrequently, quotes St. Augustine and St. Gregory. His prose is seldom overweighted with allusions or quotations of any kind, and, when he quotes authorities, he quite frequently develops their ideas in an original manner. Far and away his most generally quoted source is the Bible, to which he refers, not with St. Teresa's imperfect memory, but with a precision and sureness which few to-day could surpass.

His work bears out exactly the testimony of Juan Evangelista, his companion for eleven years. The external evidence is so strikingly at one with the internal that it merits quotation :

He was greatly devoted to the reading of the sacred Scriptures, and I never saw him reading any book save the Bible (which he knew almost entirely from memory) and St. Augustine *Contra Hæreses* and the *Flos Sanctorum* ; when he preached, as he seldom did, or gave informal addresses (*pláticas*), which was scarcely ever, he never used any book save the Bible only.

Though he was a learned man, he had no books in his cell but a Bible, in the which, he was wont to say, he found all that was necessary to him, and if he desired to see any other book, he took it from the common library, and afterwards returned it there.¹

We may add, for the sake of comparison with other writers, that he shows no clear trace of having been influenced in his ideas by mediæval or contemporary mystics of whatever nation.²

It is not possible, and perhaps not desirable, to discuss at length the influence of St. Teresa on St. John of the Cross—nor, for that matter, the reverse influence, which was probably no less great. The complementary nature of the works of the two saints is very noticeable : they seldom disagree, though each relies largely on personal experience, and a synthesis of their writings would form an account of the mystical life, we may safely say,

¹ Juan Evangelista, *cit.* Baruzi, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

² J. Baruzi (*op. cit.*, e.g. pp. 182-3) discusses possible contemporary influences, but draws no positive conclusions.

approached by very few other syntheses, and surpassed by none. In one respect—the description of visions and raptures—we know from St. John of the Cross' own pen that he deliberately avoided writing on a subject which he considered St. Teresa to have dealt with more effectively.¹ The same may be true of other themes where the intention of one or other of the writers is similar to this, but not expressed.

The influence of St. Teresa, however, on St. John of the Cross, went very much deeper than this. He was young and impressionable when he met her first : she was of the generation before his, represented the fulfilment of his vision, and had initiated the Reform which he was about to join. It cannot be doubted that he listened to words from her lips at Valladolid on far more subjects than the observance of the primitive rule, that he read the books which she had studied, and became acquainted with those who had helped to mould her thought. We know how highly she, for her part, esteemed him, and it can hardly be doubted that as both grew older, she came more and more under his influence. Beyond this point, in the absence of further testimony, it does not seem to us possible to go,² but enough has been said to show that something closer and more intimate than a mere literary influence binds the works of these two souls together.

We have ended, it would seem, upon a low note indeed, but as, in mediæval phrase, we “send memory backward” to those masterpieces of prose and verse which have given to St. John of the Cross an immortality as assured as that of Cervantes or Shakespeare, we may well gain from the contrast a fresh vision of his greatness. He has been compared, and well compared, to a soaring eagle ; his voice, to the voice of an angel : the similitudes express the effect that he makes upon all who read him. But if we use his own figure, we shall think of him

¹ See p. 244, above.

² Baruzi goes farther, by implication (*op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.), than we are prepared to do, and especially in his conjecture : “On peut conjecturer qu'il accentue en elle le goût et le sens du lyrisme” (p. 180). Judging by the results, this does not seem likely.

rather as one who made the perilous ascent of that Mount Carmel which he portrayed in quaint outline in the manuscript book of the name. His way was beset with dangers and darkness : the traveller on this steep road has even to pass through the very heart of the clouds, which from far below, upon the earth, resemble the goal of his endeavours, but in the attack which he makes upon them are as the Dark Night itself. Many a traveller up those slopes turns back as he approaches those clouds or is lost in them.

But above the clouds is St. John of the Cross, in those incomparable lyrics which are among the choicest treasures of all seekers everywhere after reality. To him it was given to transcend those mists and fogs which once may have seemed to overwhelm him, to stand on the very heights of Mount Carmel, and to view the mystic road along which he had come in all the radiance of an unclouded light. Only of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross among the mystics considered in this survey can it be said with entire assurance that they write from the summit of the mountain, that they have entered the very heart of the furnace of love :

Teresa, soul of fire!

John of the Cross, spirit of ardent flame!

CHAPTER VI
LUIS DE LEÓN

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I

NOT many hours' journey from Medina del Campo and the Avila of St. Teresa, on a bleak treeless plateau at the mercy alike of the winter's winds and the scorching summer sun, stands Luis de León's city of Salamanca. It is a mere shell to-day of its former greatness : grass grows between the stones of its quiet squares, its churches and palaces are little more than monuments, and its once world-renowned university attracts but a scanty number of students. Yet few cities are more beloved by their inhabitants, and none has a stronger fascination for the traveller who seeks to penetrate into the heart of Spain. Cervantes' fervent apostrophe¹ is echoed not only by dream-errants and poets, but by all whose hearts are warmed by its golden glow and all who love to read of the glorious past—Spain's "ayer glorioso"—in the slumbering present of to-day. "Dorada Salamanca mía," cries the city's uncrowned laureate, "O my golden city! Within thee sleeps remembrance of a past when thought was harvested year upon year in thy halls. Now is the course of thy life as tranquil as that thought, and thy growth as imperceptible as the growth of our native oak of evergreen."²

Sooner or later, every visitor finds his way to the peaceful little court which fronts the façade of the

¹ Salamanca (que enhechiza la voluntad de volver a ella a todos los que de la apacibilidad de su vivienda han gustado). (*El Licenciado Vidriera*.)

² Al pie de tus sillares, Salamanca,
de las cosechas del pensar tranquilo
que año tras año maduró en tus aulas
duerme el recuerdo.

Duerme el recuerdo, la esperanza duerme,
y es el tranquilo curso de tu vida,
como el crecer de las encinas, lento,
lento y seguro.

(Miguel de Unamuno, *Poesías*, 1907, p. 30.)

university, and before entering the building to view the gaunt and cheerless lecture-room which was Fray Luis', and the pulpit-like *cátedra* from which he spoke, he gazes on the statue of the friar : an impressive figure, the eyes cast down, the right hand lowered in deprecation, the left holding his book. No suggestion of strife is here—rather of a life lived in seclusion, an ideal not ascetic but humane, a spirit of quiet tolerance and goodwill towards all.

This impression of the temperament of Fray Luis is fundamentally not wholly false, but its implications will not for a moment bear the searching light of history, which reveals a sequence of events both surprising and pathetic in the extreme. In other circumstances and ages, the life of Fray Luis might indeed have been one of quiet contemplation, assiduous study, and intellectual comradeship. As it is, the story which his biography tells is one of rancour, strife, and jealousy, persecution and imprisonment, and the cramping of a magnificent genius in the interest of ideals now long since discarded by all.

Luis de León was born (as nearly as can be determined) in the summer of 1527 (or 1528)¹ at Belmonte, in the province of Cuenca. He studied mainly at the University of Salamanca, and entered the Augustinian Order in about his fifteenth year.² From an early age he seems to have been devoted to theology, to which he continued to apply himself after taking his bachelor's degree, so that he graduated in that study further successively as a licentiate and as a master.

In 1561, after failing in the previous year to secure another chair at Salamanca, Fray Luis was elected to the Professorship of Theology. Already, in his environment, the germs of future discord were stirring. He appears to have been popular with his students, probably for the

¹ For a discussion on the date of his birth, see Adolphe Coster, in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. liii, pp. 41-4, Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Luis de Leon*, pp. 90-2, J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Fray Luis de León*, pp. 6-7. The student can hardly be better guided than by the first two of these works, which have both appeared while the present volume has been in the latter stages of preparation, and embody the results of the most recent research.

² The poem "A la vida religiosa" may very well describe Luis' feelings at this time.

decisiveness and vigour of his personality, which invariably and naturally make their appeal to the young. By his colleagues he was certainly less liked, perhaps for the same reason. Feeling ran high between Augustinians and Dominicans, and a follower of St. Augustine who was outspoken to the point of intolerance, besides being brilliant and not devoid of ambition, could be sure of finding among the "watchdogs" of religion some who would make themselves his enemies.

Two foes he made in particular¹: León de Castro, an elderly professor of classics, of none too generous a disposition, and Bartolomé de Medina, a Dominican, and a rival of Luis' own age who on more than one occasion had been mortified by failure. Luis would seem to have given reasonable cause for offence to the first of these by attacking his views without the restraint that a younger man owes to an older, and they came at last to open enmity. Medina, on the other hand, with the Salamancan Dominicans at his back, went somewhat craftily to work; in the end he caused Fray Luis to be denounced before the Inquisition for unorthodoxy, with the result that in 1572, together with two of his companions, he was arrested.²

The next four years he spent in the prisons of Valladolid. He had vacated his chair for another—that of Biblical Criticism—in 1565, and the second period of four years for which it was held coming to an end during his incarceration, he was not re-elected. All sorts of accusations, implied and open, were made to reinforce the original charges against him: Jewish descent and sympathies, with this addition or that, were the principal form which they took. The main charge was embodied in hostile views of the translation from the Hebrew into Spanish of the *Song of Songs*, and the commentary on that book, which he had made about the time of his election to his first professorship.

¹ See Bell, *Luis de Leon*, p. 120, for an interesting contrast between the two.

² He had become, during these years, a person of much importance in Salamanca and the University as a writer, lecturer, administrator of an Augustinian college, Vice-Rector of the University, member of important committees, etc.

Luis de León, never, as we have seen, disposed to mildness, defended himself with vigour, and with a passionate use of invective and counter-accusation which could scarcely have served him in good stead. The most cursory reader of his works should not pass over his vehement "Reply from Prison" (1573).¹ When at length he was acquitted in 1576, with cautions and reprimands, but without being found guilty, he returned to Salamanca to the accompaniment of "timbrels and trumpets" and with "a great following of doctors, masters and other gentlemen."² The chair which he had occupied had gone to an opponent, but a new one was created especially for him, and he took possession of it immediately.

Everyone who knows anything at all of Luis de León is well aware what is supposed to have happened next. If indeed a vast concourse assembled, hoping to hear something of the eloquence which he had lavished upon the Inquisitors, and if—as many believe and others doubt—he stood up in his place to astonish them with the calm, familiar words: "As we were saying yesterday . . .", *why did he do so?* Surely not out of natural humility: that he was a meek and humble man is belied by his whole life-story. It may equally well have been out of pride—the pride which disdains to use argument and rhetoric which have no ends to serve. It may have been from a desire to astonish with silence those who came expecting to be astonished with eloquence. It may have been one swift, unpremeditated victory of the better self over the arch-enemy of the life controlled by God. Or, as we have suggested, it may never have happened at all.³

¹ "Respuesta que desde su prisión da a sus émulos el Maestro Fray Luis de León" (B.A.E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 285-7). It begins: "I know not if I shall find words which may suffice to express the things that I feel, but since the power of my enemies and their abuse of me compel me to speak, all religious and honest persons will pardon me. . . ."

² See Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española, etc.* (Madrid, 1863-89), vol. iv, col. 1328.

³ See, on this point, the articles of Muiños Sáenz cited in the bibliography to this volume; Alonso Getino, *Vida y procesos del Maestro Fray Luis de León*, pp. 242-3, 262-3; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Fray Luis de León*, pp. 147-51; A. F. G. Bell, *Luis de Leon*, pp. 164-7.

Even when Fray Luis was at work again, his trials were not over. Such enmities as he had made end only with men's lives. In 1578 he presented himself for the chair of Moral Philosophy, winning it only after a bitter struggle with an opponent. In the next year, by a perilously small majority, he carried the chair of Biblical Studies against a Dominican. It might seem now as if he would have leisure to work calmly and in repose. He brought out, it is true, in 1580, his Latin commentary on the *Song of Songs*. But although the succeeding years saw the publication of the *Perfect Wife* and the *Names of Christ*, they also saw a second determined attempt on the part of his enemies to get him condemned by the Inquisition. A heresy trial resulted in acquittal with the usual reprimand.

The remainder of Fray Luis' life was less eventful than these years had been, but hardly happier. The chief event in them, from the standpoint of posterity, is the appearance in 1588 of his edition of the works of St. Teresa,¹ dedicated to the Venerable Anne of Jesus, whose esteem of Fray Luis it is pleasant to record in the midst of so many attacks upon him.² The friar had been sent to Madrid on a University mission of some intricacy in 1585, and, while there, he was asked to collect and edit the Saint's works. Strange to say, although she had been at least three times to Salamanca, where she founded a convent in 1570, he had never met her, though

¹ Even the publication of these aroused opposition: it seems as if the unfortunate friar could do nothing without exciting enmity. The main pretext for adverse criticism was apparently the Saint's use of the vernacular, and Fray Luis's part in its propagation. In the *apologia*, however, which, never slow to answer his enemies, he published, and which saw the light by the medium of Fray Tomás de Jesús, the defence is conducted on broader lines. The *apologia* was addressed "to those who, with more zeal than befitted reason, thought it unseemly that books containing such lofty teaching, and others like to them, should be written in the vulgar tongue," but the three objections to the reading of St. Teresa's works which Fray Luis thought well to deal with he states thus: "One is because these writings teach the prayer which is called the prayer of union, and this they say it is not good to teach—but they say not why. Another is because the things therein are too dark and secret to be generally understood of all. The third is because the Blessed Mother Teresa relates therein many revelations which she had." To the subject of the vernacular I return below (pp. 301-3).

² See Manrique's *Vida de la Venerable Ana de Jesús*, 1632, V, iii, 328.

his rival Bartolomé de Medina, on her visiting the city in 1573-74, had got to know her with some degree of intimacy. Luis de León's edition shows, however, that though his writings and hers have not over-much in common—in some few respects they are wide as the poles asunder—he was a great admirer of the Carmelite foundress and had studied her works with insight and profit.¹

Even Fray Luis' own fellow Augustinians were not uniformly his champions during the last twenty years of his life, and up to the very year of his death he was engaged in turmoils within his order or without. Honour from the Augustinians came to him at the last, when it was almost too late to honour him on earth. On August 14, 1591, he was elected Provincial of Castile. Some say he was present at the chapter which elected him; others would have it that he was already on his death-bed. However that may be, he died on August 23.²

Scanty, and at times conflicting, as is the available information on some parts of Fray Luis' life, he is on the whole an excellent subject for the biographer. Not only are the records of the thirty years during which he served his university very full, but we have an abundance of detail on quite minor matters which helps to make his personality more real. His ascetic habits were, according to several testimonies, a matter of strict and severe rule with him, a fact which is of some importance, for one does not easily realize that this exponent in verse of Horatian sufficiency was given to long and frequent fasts, severe disciplines and all-night vigils. The reader may enter his study in imagination, note its furniture, examine the

¹ The fine eulogy of St. Teresa by Fray Luis in his preface, from which we learn that he never saw her, deserves to be read in Spanish by all students of the work of either writer. It begins: "Yo no conocí, ni ví a la Madre Teresa de Jesús mientras estuvo en la tierra, mas ahora que vive en el cielo, la conozco, y veo casi siempre en dos imágenes vivas, que nos dejó de sí, que son sus hijas y sus libros." A few lines from it are quoted above, p. 218, n. 5. See here A. F. G. Bell, *Luis de Leon*, pp. 194-5.

² For a fine piece of imaginative description of Luis de León's last days, see A. F. G. Bell, *Luis de Leon*, pp. 200-1. Mr. Bell (p. 199) thinks he was present at the chapter, but see *Revista Agustiniana*, 1881, p. 351, for the contrary view.

heaps and the rows of books which filled it—nay more, he may observe its occupant, a short but well-proportioned figure, with a close-cropped and tonsured head, an abundance of thick, dark curly hair, a high intellectual forehead, and sparkling green eyes. Somewhat melancholy and taciturn in his dealings, though vehement enough on occasion, he was pre-eminently a strong, vigorous man in everything but health—for he suffered from heart trouble, and his voice, which was unfortunately weak and indistinct, was no index of his determined disposition, his ceaseless activity, and his iron will.

II

Of all the writers dealt with in this book, Luis de León takes by far the highest place in pure literature. As a lyric poet he is considered by many to be the equal of St. John of the Cross, and, by a larger number still, the superior of all who have lived in Spain since the sixteenth century.¹ To sincerity and loftiness of inspiration he added a high degree of conscious art, which he carried to a pitch of excellence unknown in Spanish verse before his age. Only rarely does he take metrical liberties which to-day seem unjustifiable, and these few occasions are of small importance as compared with his high regard in general for the metrist's art and the proficiency he reached in it. As a writer of prose he is scarcely, if at all, less great. The rugged strength and rapid, yet measured eloquence of his language—so unlike the sweetness and flexibility of his verse—are marvellously effective. He has many of the best attributes of both Latin and Greek prose, combined with an unmistakably Hebraic quality which conveys a total effect best paralleled in English.

¹ Menéndez Pelayo, for example, wrote in 1881 that "apart from St. John of the Cross . . . there is no Castilian lyric poet who can compare with him" (*Estudios de crítica literaria*, 3rd ed., i, p. 50). Elsewhere, about the same time (1883), he went farther and wrote: "Never has lyrical inspiration risen to a higher point among us than in the Salamancan school, nor do I know of any poet in the Peninsula who can be compared with Fray Luis de León in this género" (*Horacio en España*, 2nd ed., ii, 26). On p. 32, however, he makes a similar qualification to that of 1881.

by that of the Authorized Version of the Bible. The Castilian Enrique de Mesa¹ sees in his style the influence of his native soil, as he sees the influence of the clear, relentless blue of the Castilian sky in his heavenward aspirations.² And there is yet more in that noble prose : there is a wealth of vocabulary, an exquisiteness of rhythm, an aptness in the use of brief, pointed simile and extended metaphor, a sensitiveness in the fashioning of the period, an unfailing instinct for the *mot propre*.³ Pages of the *Names of Christ* we have read which are unsurpassed (to our mind, at least) in the entire history of Spanish letters.⁴

No less than three of Luis de León's prose works may fairly be called masterpieces. Each of them has been acclaimed as the greatest. *The Perfect Wife* (*La Perfecta Casada*, 1583) has appealed particularly to mundane and modern critics. Azorín, for example, considers that "the Castilian language has never reached greater heights than here : the most exacting stylist can ask for nothing finer."⁵ Being in no sense mystical, this book will not occupy us for more than a few lines. It is an exposition of the final chapter of the Book of Proverbs, which describes the virtuous woman and shows an intimate knowledge of womankind surprising in a professor of theology and an Augustinian friar. And the friar demands a high standard of virtue in his ideal woman of the world. She must flee from vanities—especially from

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, ed. Enrique de Mesa (Biblioteca Calleja), Madrid, 1917, vol. i, p. 9, prologue.

² "Dióle a Fray Luis el llano abierto . . . la austera concisión del discurso ; dióle el cielo azul inacabable, ansia de vuelo."

³ If Cervantes' reference to Fray Luis in the *Galatea* ("Canto de Caliope"), 1585,

Fray Luis de León es el que digo,
A quien yo reverencio, adoro y sigo,

is more than a conventional expression of admiration (the preceding eulogy of "un ingenio que al mundo pone espanto" rather suggests that it is not) it can only refer to these qualities of the older writer's prose. Lope de Vega, both early and late in his life, also wrote admiringly of Fray Luis.

⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo (*Historia de las Ideas estéticas en España*, vol. iii, p. 132) places the *Names of Christ* above any other single book in Spanish religious literature.

⁵ *Los dos Luises*, p. 113.

artificial aids to beautifying the features, which are severely condemned—and devote herself to domestic duties ; resist the temptation to read books of chivalry and to keep sonnets and lyrics hidden in her bosom ; yet not be over-much given to religiosity and spend her life in church.¹ A characteristic passage is that in which the author counsels early rising for the mistress of a household :

Greatly are they mistaken who think that while the mistress of a house, who is responsible for that which is done well and ill therein, sleeps and neglects its welfare, the servant will give heed and pay attention to it ; for it is not her house, and she looks upon it always as the property of another. If the mistress sleeps, why should the servant wake ? And if the lady of a house neglects everything—she who is and must of necessity be an example and a preceptor to her family, teaching every one of her servants that which pertains to her office—for the same reason, and with greater reason, will the rest be neglectful and given to sleep.

The *Perfect Wife*, for all the moral and spiritual admonitions which it enshrines, is distinctly worldly in tone, and as evidently the work of a skilled writer who knows his classical authors well as the other prose books are that of a professional theologian. Not that there are no signs of the theologian in it : quite the contrary. But where allusions to Greek tragedy, Hebrew prophecy, Early Christian apologetics and contemporary Spanish secular verse rub shoulders, who shall be sure that the note which he thinks to be predominant was so in his author's mind ?

The second great prose work of Fray Luis is the *Exposition of the Book of Job*, written for the Venerable Anne of Jesus, and published only in 1779,² when its author had been dead nearly two hundred years. Less well known than the famous *Translation and Explanation of the Book of the Songs*,³ which played so prominent a

¹ As Fray Luis untranslatably puts it, she must not “ calentar el suelo de la iglesia tarde y mañana.” See also the prologue, which draws a clear distinction between the duties of a professed religious and a married woman.

² It was the last of his works, and in 1592 the Augustinian monks of Salamanca decided to publish it. But the project was never carried into execution.

³ The original work dates from as early as 1561. It was translated into Latin (c. 1571) and its final enlarged form is that of the third edition (1589).

part in Fray Luis' history, it is a very much finer piece of work, and though not so trustworthy as a commentary (for bitter experience had taught Fray Luis to pay due respect to the Vulgate even at the expense of the Hebrew) it excels it, and has hardly been surpassed, as a monument of Spanish prose.

It may well have been its author's favourite work, and for more than one reason. Its theme must have been dear to one who had suffered so much through the envy and ill-will of others. Its language could not but delight so Hebraic a mind. Its presentation of the God of nature and the argument of His power from His works would appeal to him no less. Not satisfied with expounding this majestic poem in prose, he translated part of it also into verse, though he was less successful than in his translations of Horace, for after all the book of *Job* is hardly translatable into rhymed tercets.

The work by which Luis de León is principally known as a writer of prose is the *Names of Christ* (1583-5)¹ which, as its title implies, is a series of commentaries upon a few of the many appellations given to Jesus Christ in the Scriptures: "King," "Son of God," "Shepherd," "Beloved" and the like. The book is cast in the form of conversations between three friends who meet day by day and discuss this theme—Juliano, Sabino and Marcelo, they are called: the last appears to have been Fray Luis himself. Another of them, Juliano, may well have been the Augustinian Alonso de Orozco, whose *Nine Names of Christ* has apparently its basis in the same conversations and shows marked resemblances with Fray Luis' masterpiece, though the latter far surpasses it.²

The *Names of Christ* is a long work, but never, to the sympathetic reader, is it wearisome, even where its expository passages are out of date. Its human sympathy,

¹ The first edition (1583) contains only the names Pimpollo, Faces de Dios, Camino, Pastor, Monte, Padre del siglo futuro, Brazo de Dios, Rey, Príncipe de paz, and Esposo, divided into two books. In 1585 appeared a second edition, to which were added the chapters called Hijo de Dios, Amado and Jesús. Posthumously (in 1595) was published an edition containing also the (certainly genuine) chapter Cordero.

² See *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 11-13, 44, 53-9.

poetic charm, eloquence, feeling for nature, love of the Bible and devotion to Christ combine with each other like the stops of a great organ : no moment is there in the book when all of them are mute, and throughout most of its course their combinations keep the reader enthralled. More personal and more humane in character than the expositions of *Job* and the *Songs*, more lofty and appealing than the *Perfect Wife*, the *Names of Christ* will always be one of the great prose classics of Spain.¹

Before going farther, it is worth while to remark that Fray Luis in Spain was fighting the battle of the vernacular which was raging in other countries also.² St. Teresa, who was a woman, might write her homely Castilian without adverse comment, but for Luis de León, the learned Augustinian professor of theology, to do so, was of itself to invite censure. Nevertheless the prologue to the *Names of Christ* has some eloquent words of self-defence. The loss of the vernacular as the medium in which the Scriptures were read and the Church was served has been a disaster : all who can must endeavour to make it good. Some have already done their part—"learned and very religious persons, who have laboured right happily herein, and given us many writings full of utility and purity." Yet this is but the stronger reason for others doing their share, and he himself, though he has been hindered, through no fault of his own, in the past, will do his :

And albeit I know myself to be the least of them that are able, in this matter whereof I speak, to serve the Church, yet have I ever desired to serve her therein as far as I might, only by reason of my feeble health and many occupations I have not done so up to this present. But, since the busy and toilsome years gone by were so full of hindrances that they brought not that desire and decision of mine to fulfilment, I think that I should not lose the opportunity

¹ It will be seen that I do not in any way share the view of Azorín (*Los dos Luises*, p. 124) : "El hecho es que hay algo—mucho—de cansado y de prolijo en este libro."

² See above, pp. 74-5, and Bell, *Luis de Leon*, pp. 32-7, 206. I am inclined to think, nevertheless, that more credit should be given to Luis de Granada and others, both for their work as pioneers and for the intrinsic quality of their style.

of this leisure which has befallen me through the wrong-doing of certain persons and their ill-will. Because, though many are the trials that beset me, yet the favour and bounty of Heaven bestowed on me by God, true Father of the oppressed, without desert of mine, and the witness of my conscience amid it all, have endowed my soul with so serene a peace that, not only in the amending of my actions, but likewise in the commerce and knowledge of truth, I now perceive and can accomplish that which of old I did not. And this trial the Lord has converted for me into my light and my salvation, and by the hands of them that went about to do me harm has He wrought my well being. To whose excellent and divine favour I should in no wise respond with due gratitude if now that I can, after such manner as I can, and according to my meagre powers and abilities, I took not pains to do that which, in my judgment, is so necessary for the good of His faithful.¹

By the time, however, that the prologue to the third book of the *Names of Christ* came to be written, it had become necessary for the author to defend himself at greater length. He accordingly plunges into the question immediately :

Of the two books [*sc.* of the *Names of Christ*] which I have already published . . . certain men have spoken much and in very diverse manners. Some marvel that a theologian, of whom, as they say, were expected lengthy treatises full of profound questions, should merely have brought out a book in the vulgar tongue (*en romance*). Others say that the matters treated in these books were not suitable for the vernacular, since they cannot be comprehended by all who understand it.²

The vernacular, they consider, has a vulgar origin, and "imagine that it is impossible to write therein otherwise than vulgarly and basely."³ How, then, should one who has Latin and Greek, to say nothing of the more mysterious tongues, and can quote, not merely from the Fathers, but from Horace and Virgil, Aristotle and Plato, descend to the use of so lowly and unworthy an instrument as this ?⁴

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Dedicatoria, vol. i, pp. 14-15. Reference is made throughout this chapter, except where otherwise stated, to the edition of the *Nombres de Cristo* published in the series "Clásicos Castellanos," Madrid, 3 vols., 1914-21, and edited by F. de Onís. This is abbreviated "N.C."

² *Nombres de Cristo*, Dedicatoria (N.C., vol. iii, pp. 5-6).

³ *Ibid.* (p. 9).

⁴ *Ibid.*

The reply which the writer makes is at once unassuming and bold. He does not write "without rule or order"; he "makes his words agree together, selects them with care and gives to each its place."¹ Some, it appears, even objected to this, saying that the result was neither Latin nor Castilian—that the worthy friar "writ no language." Very briefly Luis de León chastises all such with the valour of his tongue, returning immediately to the more general question of the merits of the vernacular, and penning some noble lines which deserve to be better known than they are :

And if perchance they say that to write in the vulgar tongue is a novelty, I allow that to give it harmony and cadence, and thus to raise it from the low estate wherein it lies, is a custom new indeed, and a course seldom taken by those that write in that tongue. The which course I desired to begin, not through any presumption of my own, for well do I know the narrow measure of my abilities ; but to the intent that such as have the gifts may be inspired from henceforward to make use of their mother tongue, even as our learned and eloquent forerunners, whose works have lived throughout so many ages, used theirs ; with the aid whereof they may accomplish that which with the learned tongues they cannot, for, according to my judgment, it excels them in many ways.²

Thus wisely, and withal audaciously, did Luis de León extol his own language, and inspire his fellow-countrymen to make it the medium of their writings. In the issue, Wisdom has once more been justified of her sons, and the Salamanca friar has a pedestal in the temple of the vernacular more commanding even than that which was erected before the portico of his own university.

The poems of Fray Luis were divided by him into three classes : original compositions, translations from classical poets, and Biblical versions. The last of these includes the translations from Job, from the chapter of Proverbs which is the theme of the *Perfect Wife*, and from the Psalms. The secular translations and imitations

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, etc. (p. 10).

² *Ibid.* (pp. 11-12).

are from the *Odes* and *Epodes* of Horace and the *Eclogues* and first *Georgic* of Virgil. We need only notice the original poems, most of which are written in the five-lined stanza used also by St. John of the Cross. All are distinguished by an indefinable charm and grace, which is neither that of apt metaphor, nor euphonious diction, nor lofty imagination, though Fray Luis had all three.¹ It is the charm which is of the very essence of true lyric poetry and can no more be analysed than explained. The poems abound in licences which suggest negligence : rhymes that are no rhymes, sentences that, read as they stand, make no sense at all, ungrammatical phrases, inversions and the like. But most of them only strike the student. For Fray Luis was a true poet, with a feeling not only for the beauty of his themes but also for what he calls the *golosina del verso*.² Poetry is to him an inspiration of God, "to raise the souls of men heavenwards with its movement and spirit."³ He declaims against those who corrupt the noble medium of verse by making it the vehicle of unworthy arguments. And it must be allowed that he himself, both in his secular and his sacred verse, set the best of examples.

It is difficult, when so many of the poems have these qualities, all rare in Spanish verse, to award the palm to any one of them. Horatians, and those who like to see in Luis de León a follower of Horace, will prefer the very secular "Life Removed." The mystically minded will delight in the stately "Night of Stars" or the rich imagery of the description of the life of Heaven :

Alma región luciente,
prado de bienandanza, que ni al hielo
ni con el rayo ardiente
falleces, fértil suelo
produtor eterno de consuelo ;

¹ I do not agree with M. Coster (*Revue Hispanique*, 1922, vol. liv, p. 236) that there is a total absence of imagination, both in ideas and style, in the poems, and that Fray Luis' intellectual and ascetic life had starved his imaginative faculty.

² *Nombres de Cristo*, "Monte" (N.C., vol. i, p. 175).

³ N.C., vol. i, p. 176,

De púrpura y de nieve
florida la cabeza coronado,
a dulces pastos mueve
sin honda ni cayado,
el buen Pastor en ti su hato amado.

Fair realm of radiant light,
O meadow of the blest, that neither hail
Nor lightning-flash may blight,
Where pleasure without fail,
Springing from richest soil doth e'er prevail.

With purple flowers and white
His head is crowned as, onward journeying,
To pastures of delight,
With neither crook nor sling,
The Shepherd his loved flock in thee doth bring.¹

Hardly less moving than this is the ode on the Ascension, and in the same kind—the orthodox religious lyric—the poems to the Saints, to the Magdalen, and to Our Lady all reach a high degree of merit, though only the last, and perhaps the last few stanzas of the first, have the vividness and brilliancy which characterize the lines just quoted. In a very different vein, the tender and pathetic, partly autobiographical ode, “On Self-knowledge,” deserves to be read and read again.² The most remarkable thing about the remainder of the original poems is their nearness to the high standard of the greatest. Two of them in particular are to be noted. The lines to Felipe Ruiz,³ some of which are quoted below,⁴ on the life to come, express, so one feels, their author’s deepest feelings, and seem to reveal him most nearly after three and a half centuries have passed. The famous ode to Francisco Salinas, the blind organist and professor of music of the University of Salamanca, will also be referred to,⁵ but three of the later stanzas may

¹ “Morada del Cielo” (Alma región luciente).

² “Del Conocimiento de sí mismo” (En el profundo del abismo estaba).

³ “¿Cuándo será que pueda. . . .?”

⁴ See pp. 325–6, below.

⁵ “Oda a Francisco Salinas” (El aire se serena). See pp. 324–5, below.

be quoted to show how naturally the language of mysticism presents itself to Fray Luis :

Aquí la alma navega
por un mar de dulzura, y finalmente
en él así se anega,
que ningún accidente
extraño o peregrino oye o siente.

¡ Oh desmayo dichoso !
¡ oh muerte que das vida ! ¡ oh dulce olvido !
¡ durase en tu reposo
sin ser restituido
jamás a aqueste bajo y vil sentido !

A este bien os llamo,
gloria del Apolíneo sacro coro,
amigo(s), a quien amo
sobre todo tesoro ;
que todo lo demás es triste lloro.

Through sea of melody
In rapture sweet the soul doth onward glide,
And sinks there finally,
Until whate'er betide
Beyond it to its senses is denied.

O heavenly ravishment !
Life-giving death, oblivion's sweet defence !
O might my life be spent
In thy calm rest, nor thence
Ever return to this vile earthly sense !

To share such bliss I entreat
You, glory of Apollo's sacred choir,
O friend(s) for whom doth beat
My heart beyond desire
Of treasures that bring tears and sorrow dire.

The canon of the lyrics, now approximately fixed, is perhaps so small as to be disappointing. But seldom has scantiness of production been so all but completely atoned for by poetic quality.

III

There is one characteristic above all others which strikes the reader of both the prose and verse of Luis de León : the prominence which he gives in it to Nature.¹ More keenly than all others here studied—even than Luis de Granada—he is alive to her beauty and her symbolism. Far from closing the eye of sense that he may see with the eye of the spirit, he proclaims the immanence of God in all things, both of spirit and of sense. He sees Him in “the meanest flower that blows,” and consciously utilizes the works of Providence in Nature in his endeavours to rise to that state of union with reality which is the goal of every mystic. There is a striking resemblance—whether fortuitous or not we cannot stay to enquire—between the attitude of Fray Luis and that of the group of English poets who flourished during the hundred years which followed his death. They share his love of Nature—especially of sky and stars—his apprehension of the immanence of the eternal in the temporal, and his longing to form part of the Divine harmony. To them, as to him, “mornings are mysteries.”²

Cuando la luz el aire y tierras baña,
Levanta al puro sol las manos puras,
Sin que se las aplomen odio y saña.³

When heaven and earth are bathed in morning light,
Raise thy pure hands to the pure sun on high,
Fetter them not with anger or despite.

He is “accustomed to hold converse with the stars,” telling them his “cares and anxieties night after night.”⁴ And he cries to one of the stars, as it were :

¹ This subject has been happily developed by Mr. Bell (*Luis de Leon*, pp. 231 ff.) at greater length than it is possible or relevant to the main subject of this volume to do here.

² Vaughan, “Rules and Lessons.”

³ “En una esperanza que salió vana.”

⁴ *Nombres de Cristo* : Rey de Dios (N.C., vol. ii, p. 68).

Yet, seeing all things that subsist and be
 Have their commissions from Divinity,
 And teach us duty, I will see
 What man may learn from thee.¹

He can say with Vaughan :

I saw eternity the other night,²

and, in a different mood, contrast man's "cold affections" ³ with the ardour of the spheres. He can write, like Habington :

When I survey the bright
 Celestial sphere
 So rich with jewels hung, that night
 Doth like an Ethiop bride appear ;

My soul her wings doth spread,
 And heavenward flies,
 The Almighty's mysteries to read
 In the large volumes of the skies.

For the bright firmament
 Shoots forth no flame
 So silent, but is eloquent
 In speaking the Creator's name.

No unregarded star
 Contracts its light
 Into so small a character,
 Removed far from our human sight,

But if we steadfast look,
 We shall discern
 In it, as in some holy book,
 How man may heavenly knowledge learn.⁴

Compare with these lines, for the sentiments, a score of passages from Luis de León, of which some few will be indicated below, and, for the expression, the opening stanzas of his "Night of Stars" :

¹ Vaughan, "The Star."

² Vaughan, "The World."

³ Vaughan, "Midnight."

⁴ Habington, "Nox nocti indicat scientiam."

Cuando contemplo el cielo
De innumerables luces adornado,
Y miro hacia el suelo,
De noche rodeado,
En sueño y en olvido sepultado,

El amor y la pena
Despiertan en mi pecho un ansia ardiente,
Despide larga vena,
Los ojos hechos fuente,
Oloarte, y digo al fin con voz doliente :

Morada de grandeza,
Templo de claridad y hermosura,
El alma que a tu alteza
Nació ¿ qué desventura
La tiene en esta cárcel baja, oscura ?

When I behold the sky
With stars innumerable spangled bright,
And then the earth descry,
Encompassèd with night,
Buried in sleep, oblivion infinite,

Sorrow and love arise
And with a burning fever fill my breast,
And ever from my eyes
The tears flow without rest
Till my tongue speaks at last, with grief oppressed :

O dwelling of great might
Temple of lovely light incomparable,
My soul, that to thy height
At birth aspired, what spell
Doth in this dark, low prison-house compel ? ¹

The exposition of *Job* and the *Names of Christ* are full of passages, now eloquent, now charming, which reveal their author's love of Nature. It is characteristic that the setting of the *Names of Christ* should be a country scene—carefully chosen and elaborated in its description before the narrative is begun, and utilized again and again in the course of the various expositions. The three friends, whose conversations make up the book,

¹ "Noche Serena." Sr. Onís (in N.C., vol. ii, pp. 134-5) has collected some few of the "star-passages" from the exposition of *Job*.

live in the *granja* of a certain monastery on the Tormes ; and it is in the large rustic garden of this pleasant retreat that they meet, on one St. Peter's Day, to talk—not, in the first instance, of religion, but of the beauties of Nature. And well they may, for beyond their garden, shaded with tall trees¹ and lulled with the ripple of running water, is the broad and placid river which winds over the *vega* it waters and speaks to the ear of imagination of the eternal calm of a land far beyond itself. The scene fills the sober Marcelo with thoughts which seem thoughts of sadness, while the younger Sabino "is incapable of reasoning with himself as he gazes on the beauty of the landscape around and the vastness of the heavens above." "As I see this wealth of verdure," he exclaims, "I am like the birds : I cannot but sing."²

The framework of the second book is equally suggestive :

After the three had dined, and had enjoyed a short rest, they left their house, as the violence of the heat was beginning to grow less, and walked down to the river which ran near by. Then, following the advice of Sabino, they went over in a boat to the grove which was planted on a kind of little island in mid-stream close to the weir of a water-mill.

Although the grove was but small, it was thickly planted and a very peaceful spot, and further, at that season of the year, it was in full leaf. Here and there, among the trees which grew in it by nature, had been planted others. A stream of some size divided the island into two : this stream was formed by the water which came from the river over the stones of the weir, and flowed along making one stream with it.

Marcelo and his companions entered the grove, and choosing the part that was thickest and best shaded from the rays of the sun, they sat down in the shade, on the green grass, their feet well-nigh touching the water—a tall poplar, which was almost in the centre of the grove, close behind them and one side of the grove before them. Here they spoke of the sun of that day, which could still be felt, and of the delicious coolness of the place where they were sitting. And they commended Sabino for his good counsel.³

¹ It is "bien poblada de árboles, aunque puestos sin orden," which reminds one somewhat of Molière's well-known "lieu champêtre mais agréable."

² *Nombres de Cristo*, Introducción (N.C., vol. i, p. 22).

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Libro segundo, Introducción (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 11-12).

The third book narrates events of the following day (June 30). Sabino rises early, and, while walking in the fields shortly after dawn, meets Juliano. They talk together, and their conversation, which is all of the country and the river, and the birds and the fishes, leads them back to the discussions of the day before. Returning to the house they find Marcelo, and after "rendering to God that which the day required," dining and resting, they are addressed by Juliano on "Christ the Son of God." He has prepared himself for his discourse by pacing up and down among the poplars in the *huerta*, lost in thought.

In the third book there occurs a curious story of the persecution, which is witnessed by the friends, of a tiny bird by two ravens. It may well be, as is thought, a parable of the experiences of Fray Luis with the Inquisition, but, whether this be so or not, it is described with great feeling and detail, and is wholly in tune with the setting of the story just quoted.

To Fray Luis, in short—if we may requote an unforgettable phrase—"Christ dwells in the fields."¹ Town life, he says, may impart to a writer a superficial eloquence, but the deep feeling that lies beneath all great work is to be sought for only in the country.² Wherever he finds open spaces, wherever he can be at rest and alone with the vast heavens spread above him, wherever all is silent save the myriad tongues of the mute creatures which show forth the glory of God—there, and there above every other place, does the poet breathe the air which ministers to his mystic life. So the country becomes to him a permanent and abiding figure of Christ, Who is that life.

As all that is in the country is the purest part of that which we can see, and is the simplest element, and, as it were, the original of all that which is compounded of or mingled with it: even so

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Pastor (N.C., vol. i, p. 132), "Vive en los campos Cristo." Cf. Vaughan's lines in a poem much like Luis de León:

If Eden be on earth at all,
'Tis that which we the country call.

("Retirement.")

² *Ibid.* (p. 130), "Puede ser que en las ciudades se sepa mejor hablar; pero la fineza del sentir es del campo y de la soledad."

is that region of life wherein dwells our glorious good, the purest truth and the simplicity of the light of God, the origin and source of all that has being, and the firm roots whence all creatures derive their being and their support.

And if we may so express it, these are the elements most pure and the fields clothed with flowers eternal, and the sources (*mineros*) of living waters, and the mountains most surely pregnant with a thousand wondrous blessings (*bienes altísimos*) and the shaded places, secluded valleys (*repuestos valles*) and cool forests, where, guarded from all harm, flower beech and olive and aloe in their glory, with all other incense-bearing trees, and where hosts of birds make sweetest and most glorious music, which never dies.¹

A storehouse, then, for lovers of Nature, is in these books. He Who "humbles Himself and descends to the level of His creatures so far as to be mindful of the tiniest birds, to provide for the ants and paint the flowers,"² is the God to Whom this friar is reaching out. He it is "Who decks the birds' wings with a thousand lovely hues, clothes the trees with green leaves : yea, these very meadows and this country which we slightly tread underfoot, He in His majesty disdains not

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Pastor (N.C., vol. i, (p. 133). This is evidently closely related with the substance of the concluding stanzas of the poem *Noche serena* :

Inmensa hermosura
Aquí se muestra toda, y resplandece
Clarísima luz pura,
Que jamás anochece ;
Eterna primavera aquí florece.

¡ Oh campos verdaderos !
Oh prados con verdad frescos y amenos,
Riquísimos mineros !
Oh deleitosos senos,
Repuestos valles, de mil bienes llenos !

Here beauty infinite
Unveils itself, and light, quintessence pure,
Transparent gleams : no night
Its radiance may obscure,
Spring's flowerèd splendour here is ever sure.

O fields of truth most fair !
O meadows ever fresh indeed and bright !
O mines of riches rare !
O fountain of delight,
Deep valleys with a thousand blessings dight !

² *Nombres de Cristo*, Faces de Dios (N.C., vol. i, p. 103).

to array continually with plants and flowers.”¹ Naturally enough, God in His Providence and in Nature is extolled unceasingly in the exposition of *Job*. The majesty of the watercourses and the lightnings holds the expositor enthralled, and while nothing that he writes approaches the magnificence of God’s challenge to Job, he has some wonderful passages in his commentary on the chapters which compose that very challenge.²

Symbolic, too, are the works of God in Nature. There are parables of the “spiritual and invisible world” in the broad ocean, wherein many perish ere they reach the port of their desire.³ That world, like this, has “another ocean, with arms no less widely embracing, and bosom no less ample, than has the ocean which encircles the earth.”⁴ The virtues which, in divers of God’s people, spring from adversity, are as various and lovely as the flowers of the richest meadow.⁵ The resounding wind and thunder are not merely (as in *Job*) reminders, like the clouds and lightnings, of God’s greatness, but they are symbols of God’s glorious voice, heard in His Church.⁶ The birds, chirping in the grass, or spreading their wings and soaring on high, not only gladden the heart, but awaken deeper instincts and “set the soul on fire with love to her Spouse.”⁷ The approach of every dawn speaks of the conquest of sin and rebellion by love,⁸ as every calm after a storm signifies the forgiveness of God.⁹ The peace and harmony of Nature within her borders may justly move the soul to be at unity within itself.¹⁰ The reflection of the star-spangled

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Rey de Dios (N.C., vol. ii, p. 72).

² Chaps. 38–41. Other fine passages will be found in chaps. 5, 6, 26 (in several places and especially the final paragraph), 36, 37.

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Padre del siglo futuro (N.C., vol. i, p. 252).

⁴ *Ibid.* Azorín (*Los dos Luises*, pp. 104–5) makes much of Fray Luis de León’s use of the sea, but, speaking personally, I find it one of the least attractive of his images. Many of the references to it are undoubtedly conventional. The fellow-Luis has far more feeling for the sea.

⁵ *Job*, chap. ii, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (abbreviated B.A.E. in the following pages), vol. xxxvii, p. 301.

⁶ *Nombres de Cristo*, Padre del siglo futuro (N.C., vol. i, p. 249).

⁷ “A la vida religiosa.”

⁸ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de Paz (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 167–8).

⁹ *Ibid.* (N.C., vol. ii, p. 150).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 175–6).

heavens in the water below illustrates so abstruse a theological subject as the manner of the operation of grace,¹ while the all-pervading and all-absorbing sunlight is suggestive of the work of Christ in and through the faithful.² The chapter on the Son of God³ abounds in illustrations taken from the sunlight, and the opening of that on the Prince of Peace takes us back again to the stars in a passage justly famous⁴ :

Even did reason not prove, and there were no other way of knowing how desirable a thing is peace, this glorious spectacle of the heavens unveiled before us now, and the harmony of the wondrous lights which shine in them, afford us testimony enough. For what is that but peace, or at the least a perfect image of the same, which we now see in the heavens and which gives so much delight to our eyes? If peace, as St. Augustine briefly and truly concludes, is a tranquil order, or calm and steadfastness in that which good order requires—it is that very thing which this image reveals to us now. For here the host of the stars, placed as it were in order and arrayed in ranks, gives forth its wondrous light ; each member inviolably keeps its place ; none usurps the room of its neighbour nor hinders it in its office, far less, forgetful of its own, breaks the sacred and eternal law which Providence has given it. Rather do all of them, united among themselves, and as it were considerate of each other, the greater sharing their lights with the less, show signs of love, and in a manner do reverence to each other. All of them at certain seasons moderate their light and power, which they reduce to one peaceful uniformity of power, composed of divers parts and aspects, beyond all measure powerful and universal.

If we may so express it, they are not only a bright and lovely example of peace, but also a proclamation, a hymn of praise sung by an exceeding multitude of voices, declaring to us how excellent are those virtues which peace contains in itself and which it brings to all things. The which voice and proclamation makes itself heard without noise of words in our souls, and its efficacy and persuasiveness are clearly manifest from the effect which there it

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de Paz (N.C., vol. ii, p. 160). “Marcelo cast his eyes upon the limpid stream flowing peacefully along, wherein, as in a mirror, were reflected all the stars and the beauty of the sky, so that it seemed another beauteous star-spangled heaven, etc.”

² *Nombres de Cristo*, Esposo (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 217–19).

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Hijo de Dios (N.C., vol. iii, pp. 23–109).

⁴ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de Paz (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 133 ff.).

makes. For our souls, perceiving how lovely and precious a thing is peace, begin to seek peace in themselves, and to set themselves thoroughly in order.

For, if we consider the secret things that come to pass within ourselves, we shall find that this order and harmony among the stars, as we contemplate it, brings rest to our souls ; that, as our eyes are fixed intently upon the heavens, our desires and troubled affections, which surged tumultuously in our breasts by day, are gradually lulled to rest, we know not how ; and that, sinking, as it were, to sleep, these desires are calmed, restored to their rightful place, and brought imperceptibly into subjection and due order.

The nature similes and parables of the New Testament are often referred to by Fray Luis for illustrations of his themes, and they seem to be as real to him as the scenes of which they speak. He enlarges upon them and even rhapsodises. When, for example, he uses the Biblical symbol of the shepherd to describe the attributes of Christ, he is carried away for a moment from his subject to reflect upon the solaces of a life lived in close touch with Nature :

For the life of a shepherd is a life full of peace, far removed from the turmoil of the city, and from its vices and pleasures. For this cause, and for the nature of its commerce and its gain, it is a life of innocence. It has pleasures of its own, which are all the greater because they spring from the simplest, purest and most natural things : from gazing upon the spacious heavens, from the purity of the air, the aspect of the country-side, the verdure of the plants, and the beauty of the roses and other flowers. The birds with their songs, and the coolness of the streams, alike give joy and service to the shepherd.¹

We have written much of Fray Luis' love of Nature—yet hardly overmuch, for the theme is very relevant to his mysticism, as will shortly be seen. Before we pass to our main theme, we will add three illustrative passages to the one which has already been cited, in order to give the English reader some idea of their merits, though these, nevertheless, can be but partially apprehended in any other language than the original.

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Pastor (N.C., vol. i, p. 128).

The first of these is from the exposition of *Job*, and comments the verse (*Job*, iv, 13): "In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men."

And of a truth that season is the fittest for commerce with heaven, for the earth and the cares thereof have then less power to impede it. Even as the darkness hides the world from our eyes, even so do the things of the world cease from troubling the heart, and the silence of night infuses into the thoughts calm and peace. As there is none to beat upon the door of the senses, they are at rest; and the soul, recollected and disencumbered of outward things, enters within itself, and in that secret place holds converse with itself and learns to know itself. And since its home is heaven, it draws very near to the things of heaven, and is united with them that dwell therein. They pour upon it their blessings, as upon one prepared to receive them, by means whereof it grows and advances in grace. Soaring above itself, it despises that which in the hours of the day it prized, and tramples upon that which it cherished in the world, for now is the world buried in darkness. Even to heaven the soul rises, which after a certain manner is opened to it, bright and resplendent. All its thoughts it fixes upon God, and in the midst of the darkness of the night there dawns upon it the light of day.¹

This would seem to be a mirror of the author's own experience of prayer. The second passage is quoted as an example of his use of sustained figures from Nature in his expositions :

When the Scripture gives to Christ the name of Branch,² it is to signify to us that Christ is the end of all things, and that all things were created and ordered for His happy birth. For as in no tree is the root made for itself, still less the trunk, which is born from the root and lives thereon, but both root and trunk, together with the branches and the leaves and the flowers, and whatsoever else the tree produces, are ordained and destined for the fruit which grows from them, which is their end, and, as it were, their goal; even so, in the same manner, these spacious heavens which we behold, and the stars therein which shed their brightness, and among them all this source of brightness and light,

¹ *Job*, iv, 13 (B.A.E., vol. xxxvii, p. 312).

² Lit. *pimpollo*, but the primary references are to Isa. iv, 2, and Jer. xxxiii, 15.

this beauteous sphere, which illumines all things, the earth decked with flowers, the streams peopled with fish, the animals, men, and the whole universe, vast and beautiful as it is—all this God created with the end in view that He would make His Son to become man, and give birth to this one Divine Fruit, to wit, Christ, for with truth we can call Him the common fulness of all things.¹

The final extract is purely descriptive, but worth quotation for the sake of the real feeling which it enshrines. It is from the *Perfect Wife* and extols the practice, already referred to, of early rising, by a description of the hours of the early morning :

For the light, following the darkness, reappears as it were after being lost from sight, and strikes the heart with a new and fresh joy. The spectacle of the heavens at such an hour, the colouring of the clouds and the revelation of the dawn (which poets rightly crown with roses), the appearance in all its beauty of the sun : these are indeed lovely things. And the singing of the birds—who will doubt that their melody is sweetest then ? And the flowers and the plants and the countryside—do they not then exhale a wealth of fragrance ?

When the King enters some city after an absence, the whole place adorns itself and dons its best apparel, and the citizens make show and display of their riches. Even so do the animals, and the earth and the air and all the elements rejoice at the coming of the sun, and, as if to welcome him, they deck themselves out and make public display of their treasures. . . . No man should fail to assist at the festival which, morning by morning, all Nature makes to the sun, for it gives not pleasure to one of the senses only, but joy to all in general. The sight is made glad by the birth of the light, by the freshness of the air, and the varied hues of the clouds. The ear is delighted by the pleasing harmony of the birds. The nostrils find the perfume of the country and the plants a fragrance most sweet. And the freshness of the air at that hour very delightfully tempers the humour overheated by sleep, creates health, laves the sorrows of the heart, and awakens the mind (I know not how) to thoughts of God ere man becomes absorbed in the affairs of the day.²

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Pimpollo (N.C., vol. i, p. 67).

² *La Perfecta Casada*, sec. vii (B.A.E., vol. xxxvii, p. 224).

IV

When we come to consider Luis de León as a mystic, we are, at first, it must be owned, at a loss to understand him. M. Coster, one of his latest commentators, would have us believe that he had nothing of the mystic in his composition,¹ basing this statement, partly on Fray Luis' own confession that he had not (in 1580 or thereabouts) experienced certain of the supernatural blessings which characterize the mystic life² and partly on the critic's own conception of what mysticism is.³ As to the first,

¹ *Revue Hispanique*, 1922, vol. liv, p. 154: "Il est évident que de tout temps, Luis avait spontanément tendu à l'ascétisme. . . . Il n'alla pas toutefois jusqu'au mysticisme, bien que ses biographes lui aient souvent attribué cet état d'esprit." Azorín (*Los dos Luises*, p. 123) says, rather more reasonably, of the *Nombres de Cristo*, that it is not a mystical treatise. This is, of course, quite a possible view to hold.

² The passage cited in French by M. Coster (*op. cit.*, p. 157) from *Opera*, vol. ii, p. 39, is as follows: "Atque hactenus verborum, quem diximus onum persequuti sumus, et quasi in scena res ageretur, suas cuique personae voces dedimus, sive potius a Salomone datas sumus interpretati: jam sub iis personis, et corporeorum amorum imaginibus, quid arcani, ac divini lateat aggrediamur dicere pro eo quantum nobis Deus intelligentiae, ac sermonis concesserit. Est enim magna res, et plane supra hominis vires, et denique ejusmodi, ut vix possit intelligi, nisi ab iis, qui eam non tam doctoris alicujus voce quam ipsa re, et suavi amoris experimento a Deo didicerunt, de quorum numero non esse me, et fateor et doleo." Mr. Bell (*op. cit.*, p. 225) also quotes part of these lines, together with some similar but less personal and less important passages; he does not, however, take them as disproving his opinion that Fray Luis "had progressed far along the Mystic Way."

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-5: "Le terme de mystique est généralement employé d'une manière vague et fausse si l'on se réfère à l'Espagne. On entend souvent par mysticisme une exaltation religieuse consistant dans un éloignement, une abstraction de plus en plus complète des choses de la terre: à ce titre, le mystique ne diffère des hommes simplement religieux que par l'ardeur plus grande de sa foi."

Unless there are really writers so ill-informed as M. Coster suggests, this is a mere setting up of skittles to knock down again, and in its effects harmless enough. But what can one think when the critic continues: "Le mysticisme véritable est tout autre chose: *il consiste essentiellement dans l'extase*, c'est-à-dire dans une union directe avec Dieu, sans l'intermédiaire des sacrements ou du prêtre"?

M. Coster continues: "On voit l'immense danger de cette doctrine [*sic*], à l'égard de laquelle l'Eglise catholique a toujours manifesté la plus grande défiance." (Can he mean "méfiance"?) He goes on naïvely, but this time with undeniable truth: "Sainte Thérèse en est un des plus illustres représentants en Espagne, *bien qu'elle ne l'ait pas inventée*" [!!].

Fray Luis' statement is so vague as to leave us quite uncertain as to precisely what experiences he refers to. And it will be generally agreed that one can be a mystic without being a mystic in perfection. As to the second point, the critic's definition of mysticism seems to us so inadequate that his opinion can hardly be taken seriously.

Nevertheless Fray Luis is a mystic of a quite peculiar type. Turning to him from St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, we are brought, as it were, down to earth. More human than they are he undoubtedly is, but so much so at times as to make the reader conscious of anti-climax, of a rude descent from the heights to which the Carmelite saints have carried him. Flashes of aspiration he can catch, glimpses of the world of the spirit which he has left—but little more. Can the mysticism of Fray Luis have a different basis from St. Teresa's? Or can it be so subtle as to elude the plain man, whom she with her blunt yet inspired Castilian knows how to enlighten so wonderfully? The honest reader is mystified: he is in another atmosphere, without any doubt: is the change of his own making, or of his author's?

Let us examine this impression which Fray Luis de León makes upon us, and see what he lacks, and what he seems to add to the mysticism with which we are familiar. There is, first, a notable absence of asceticism, considered as a system, and apart from that imposed by the normal discipline of the Church. He would have the Christian flee from the world and all who are its friends, it is true; he warns the aspirant against deceptive delights and consolations; he recommends and practises self-mortification as a preventive against sin. But so much as this was conventional in his day, and contains elements of truth which will always find expression in religious writers. What we do not find in Luis de León is any great importance attached to ascetic practices, and—even more significant is this—any asceticism of spirit. As to the first, we can go farther, and say that where he seems to be recommending mortifications of the body

his counsels against the abuse of them are usually more weighty than his exhortations :

What, then ? Are fasts, hair-shirts and outward mortifications bad ? On the contrary, they are good : yet not as signs of health, but as medicines, or poultices, which themselves bear witness that we are ill ; good as ways and means of attaining righteousness, not as righteousness itself. . . . We must admonish the faithful that these outward things do not mark the end of their journey ; much less are they the Christian's true riches, or his righteousness, or his health.¹

The almost total absence of asceticism from the spirit of Luis de León's writings is most marked in the poems. Not only do we find such altogether worldly compositions as the lines *On Avarice*,² which might have been written by any pagan poet, and suggest Horace, but in verses like the famous *Life Removed*³ we have the ideals of the ascetic set quietly but firmly aside in favour of those of comfort and moderation : ample sleep, homely but pleasant food, sympathetic environment.

A few typical lines will make this clear :

¿ Qué vale el no tocado
Tesoro, si corrompe el dulce sueño,
Si estrecha el nudo dado,
Si más enturbia el ceño,
Y deja en la riqueza pobre al dueño ?⁴

For what avails for me
The hoarded gold that murders gentle sleep,
If 'tis but slavery
And clouded still doth keep
Its owner's brow, poor though he treasure heap.

Again :

Vivir quiero conmigo,
Gozar quiero del bien que debo al cielo,
A solas, sin testigo,
Libre de amor, de celo,
De odio, de esperanzas, de recelo.⁵

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Jesús (N.C., vol. iii, pp. 185-6).

² *A Felipe Ruiz*, de la avaricia. (En vano el mar fatiga.)

³ *Vida retirada* (Qué descansada vida). Translated fully in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 165-8, and in A. F. G. Bell, *Luis de Leon*, pp. 291-3.

⁴ *A Felipe Ruiz*, de la avaricia, stanza 5.

⁵ *Vida retirada*, stanza 8.

A mí una pobrecilla
Mesa, de amable paz bien abastada,
Me basta, y la vajilla
De fino oro labrada
Sea de quien la mar no teme airada.

Y mientras miserable-
Mente se están los otros abrasando
Con sed insaciable
Del peligroso mando,
Tendido yo a la sombra esté cantando ;

A la sombra tendido,
De hiedra y lauro eterno coronado,
Puesto el atento oído
Al son dulce, acordado,
Del plectro sabiamente meneado.¹

I to myself would live,
To enjoy the blessings that to Heaven I owe,
Alone, contemplative,
And freely love forgo,
Nor hope, fear, hatred, jealousy e'er know.

But me may still suffice
With plenty and meek peace a humble fare,
And the wrought artifice
Be his of gold plate rare
Who dreads not o'er the raging sea to fare

And while in misery
Others are pledged to fierce ambition's throng,
A fire insatiably
For power nor sure nor long,
May I in pleasant shade recite my song.

Yea, lying in the shade,
My brow with ivy and bay immortal crowned,
My ear attentive made
To the sweet, tuneful sound
Of zither touched by fingers' skill profound.

¹ *Vida retirada*, stanzas 15-17.

From this and many other passages it will be clear to the reader that, marked as is the influence of Hebraic literature upon Luis de León, that of the pagan, classical poets is scarcely less profound.¹ Quite evidently, Horace and Virgil—especially Horace—modify Luis de León's religious thought, in places beyond recognition, as surely as Plato influences both his thought and the form of his dialogues, and Cicero his form and style. Everywhere, Luis de León reveals the inspiration of humanism, which tempers his mysticism throughout his work.²

He never forgets the primary bond—that of love—between God and man. "No se puede vivir sin amar": without love man cannot live.³ It is the same phrase as Ramón Lull had preached so ardently three centuries earlier. But the love must spread outward, and not only soar upwards. He sees "love's greatest achievement in this, that it can give itself to many, and yet it grows no less."⁴ True love uproots from us all other affection, and becomes lord over all else in the soul. Like a most ardent fire, it consumes all that meets it, and thus it expels from the heart all other manners of love for the creatures, and itself performs their office, loving them

¹ Menéndez Pelayo (*Horacio en España*, ed. cit., pp. 26-33) traces what he takes to be the evolution of Luis de León as a lyric poet; he makes him begin with imitations of the Italians and translations from Latin and Greek, and finally reveals him after he has risen to almost complete originality, as the poet of *Noche serena*, with only the concision of thought and art of construction which were Horace's in so high a degree left to remind us of what he has owed to that poet in the past. The student may also profitably read Sr. Onís' careful study of the Hebraic, pagan and Christian elements in Luis de León's writings (N.C., pp. vii-xvii, Preface to vol. ii).

² Miguel de Unamuno ("En torno al casticismo," in *Ensayos*, Madrid, 1916, vol. i, pp. 166-7) sums up Fray Luis's genius well: "En España penetró tanto como donde más el soplo del humanismo, el alma del Renacimiento, que siempre tuvo altar aquí. Desde dentro y desde fuera nos invadió el humanismo eterno y cosmopolita, y templó la mística castellana castiza, tan razonable hasta en sus audacias, tan respetuosa con los fueros de la razón. El ministro por excelencia de su consorcio fué el maestro León, maestro como Job en infortunios, alma llena de la ardiente sed de justicia del profetismo hebraico, templada en la serena templanza del ideal helénico. Platónico, horaciano y virgiliano, alma en que se fundían lo epicúreo y lo estoico en lo cristiano, enamorado de la paz, del sosiego y de la armonía en un 'siglo de estruendo más que de sustancia.'"

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de Paz (N.C., vol. ii, p. 184).

⁴ Miguel de Unamuno, "En torno al casticismo," ed. cit., p. 175.

more greatly and more truly than did the heart with its former love.¹

This is a love that binds man to man, no less than to God :

For Christ Himself implants love in those that love Him ; He passes into their hearts and lives in their souls ; and for that same reason He causes them all to be of one mind and spirit.²

So Fray Luis will not—*cannot*—hold aloof from men, for nothing that is human is foreign to him.

Yet cannot the humanist, and cannot the disciple of moderation, be a mystic, and a great one at that ? Assuredly he can. The phenomenon may be rare, for Catholic mystics are apt, in the figurative sense, to emerge from one particular type of seminary, but its lessons can occasionally be learned in other and different environments. There is more reason than this for finding Luis de León's mysticism unfamiliar. We seem to find in him a total disregard of system—no thought of the mystic " journey " or " progress " or even " life " in any continuous sense. The reader of the *Mansions* or the *Spiritual Canticle* may perhaps have been endeavouring to fashion his life upon the plan laid down in those books with such clearness, though a clearness which sadly deceives any who imagine it spells ease. Now he comes to the *Names of Christ*, and to the lyrics, and at once is lost in a region of vague aspirations and longings, where the goal is shown him momentarily, but where the path by which it may be reached is veiled.

And if he is honest, the reader will go farther, and avow that to him at least Luis de León is lacking in the sublime. It was hardly to be expected perhaps that two men in one age—if indeed in one world—could attain to the heights from which St. John of the Cross looks down, but at least one would think that such a master of Spanish prose could rival St. Teresa's homely but

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Amado (N.C., vol. iii, p. 139).

² *Ibid.* (N.C., vol. iii, p. 122).

marvellously successful attempts to describe the intimacies of the Mystic Betrothal and to impel all who read to follow her. The disciple of the Carmelites who reads through the *Names of Christ* lays it down unsatisfied. There have been passages in it which ring with eloquence, phrases which haunt him with their beauty, words which thrill him with the unexpected emotions they conjure up. Intellectually, he is in the seventh heaven ; spiritually, he is on the starlit Castilian plain, vainly endeavouring, like Luis de León himself, to rise above it.

Such reflections as these are inevitable in those who have learned to love the Carmelites. It is not until they come to consider what Luis de León can give them that they begin to understand wherein his mysticism consists. We can find the key to it in very many passages from the better-known verses, and, less readily, in the *Names of Christ*.

The first element, that of the apprehension of Divine immanence, and of climbing to the eternal Day by the "hid ascents" of Nature, has already been noticed. The prose passages referred to, and those quoted, should suffice to show that Fray Luis is no mere lover of the picturesque. Should they not be convincing, conclusive proof is forthcoming in the "Night of Stars" and the equally beautiful poem on the Heavenly Life, that, as it was to St. Basil, St. Gregory, Fray Luis' own father St. Augustine, and many others, both before and since, so Nature to him was a definite and an integral part of his search after union with God.

Nor is Nature the only intermediate step by which this mystic would rise towards Heaven. The sound of music awakens in him Divine memories of his first home towards which he is slowly returning. So he apostrophises the harmony

A cuyo son divino
Mi alma que en olvido está sumida,
Torna a cobrar el tino
Y memoria perdida
De su origen primera esclarecida.

.

Traspasa el aire todo
Hasta llegar a la más alta esfera,
Y oye allí otro modo
De no perecedera
Música, que es de todas la primera.¹

At whose blest sound divine
My soul that in forgetfulness hath lain
With a new light doth shine
And unto memory plain
Of its first splendid origin attain.

Up through the fields of air
It wings, till in the highest sphere it dwells,
And a new music there
It hears, music that wells
Undying, and all other kinds excels.

Fray Luis may be writing here in a somewhat lighter mood than in the poems just mentioned, but there is no doubt that he took music, like the beauties of Nature, and every other of the many blessings of God's Providence, as one of the steps which led him upwards to God's Presence.²

To consider but one of several aspects of this fact, we may examine his conception of final union with God beyond the grave. In one of his first odes—one of those addressed to Felipe Ruiz³—he gives expression to his longing to depart from this present life :

¿ Cuándo será que pueda
Libre desta prisión volar al cielo,
Felipe, y en la rueda
Que huye más del suelo,
Contemplar la verdad pura sin velo ?

¹ *A Francisco de Salinas* ("El aire se serena"). Cf. Rousselot, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

² An illuminating passage connecting music and Nature will be found in the exposition of Job, xxxviii, 37. Images of music will also be found in *Nombres de Cristo* (e.g. "Rey de Dios," N.C., vol. ii, p. 70 ; "Príncipe de Paz," N.C., vol. ii, pp. 151-2) illustrating the happiness of the "ánimo bien concertado dentro de sí," and of the life ruled by Christ.

³ "¿ Cuándo será que pueda . . . ?"

When from this prison drear,
 Philip, may I take flight into the sky,
 And in the farther sphere,
 Above the Earth most high,
 Pure truth without concealment may descry ?

So much is the essence of all mysticism. It is when we come to consider his conception of the final consummation of happiness that the singularity of Luis de León among Spanish mystics strikes us. He has no thought (in his poem) of "absorption" or "transformation" in the Godhead : it is what he will "see" that moves him :

Allí, a mi vida junto,
 En luz resplandeciente convertido,
 Veré distinto y junto
 Lo que es y lo que ha sido,
 Y su principio propio y escondido.¹

In my new life elate,
 Converted into light of radiant sheen,
 At one and separate,
 What is and what hath been,
 Shall I see and its origin unseen.

The marvels of Creation will be revealed to him, the mysteries of earthquake and ocean, snow and rain, sun and stars. He will see God—but it is the God of *Job*, whence indeed seems to come his inspiration :

Quien rige las estrellas
 Veré, y quien las enciende con hermosas
 Y eficaces centellas.²

And Who the stars inspires
 And kindles with a beauty radiant, clear,
 Their efficacious fires.

Whatever else, then, the mysticism of Luis de León may be, it is certainly a nature-mysticism. Within that broad and comprehensive term, it may further be described as the reverse of pantheism, and always strongly

¹ " Cuándo será que pueda . . . ? " stanza 2.

² *Ibid.*, stanza 12.

personal. We may next formulate the corollary of this statement, and say that it is always markedly active, the reverse of quietism. There are some critics, of course, who see quietism everywhere. Vaughan, for example, finds it in St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa, going so far as to make the latter a greater offender than Molinos¹; Dean Inge condemns Osuna, and makes the curious statement that St. Peter of Alcántara was the "real founder of Spanish quietistic mysticism."² But we have never heard that anyone has called Fray Luis de León a quietist—perhaps because he is so little known in circles where the term is used freely, perhaps because his very temperament would belie so extraordinary a charge.

As truly as of Osuna, it may be said that Luis de León represents the active, restless striver after God. St. Augustine's famous phrase might well have been his motto: "Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless, until it repose in Thee."³ The restlessness is that "ansia ardiente" which mingled love and pain awaken within him when he gazes upon the host of heaven,⁴ that "appetite and desire" for oneness with God which partly constitutes the essence of love itself.⁵ For love is that which "seeks" one thing and "desires" one thing only; and the object of its search and desire is love.⁶ Fray Luis is at pains to make it clear that where he speaks of the desire for the everlasting hills⁷—that is, for Christ, in this context—"the original word signifies an affection that knows no rest, and which ever opens the heart with ardour and longing."⁸ Desire and love for Christ "will continue until the end of the world—

¹ *Hours with the Mystics*, vol. ii, pp. 172, 190.

² *Christian Mysticism*, p. 218, n. 1. See also the Abbot of Pershore in *Laudate*, vol. iii, 1925, pp. 50, 182 (n. 5).

³ *Confessions*, I, i.

⁴ *Noche serena*, stanza 2.

⁵ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de paz. The whole of the dialogue between Julian and Sabino beginning "Muchas veces habréis oído decir . . ." (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 186 ff.) is concerned with a definition of love. Part of it is quoted below, p. 328.

⁶ *Nombres de Cristo*, Amado (N.C., vol. iii, p. 128).

⁷ The reference is to Gen. xlix, 26.

⁸ *Nombres de Cristo*, Amado (N.C., vol. iii, p. 115).

yea, will remain when the ages are no more, and be as great and as wide as the greatness and wideness of eternity." ¹ Fray Luis exhausts his powers of expression in his efforts to drive home the fulness of the word "desire." "Ever athirst for Him!" is his cry. "Ever alive with longing to behold Him! Ever sweetly sighing, and thus faithfully declaring with what ardour the soul is aflame!" ²

What does all this imply but that the mystical power of love is given its full place in Fray Luis de León's system? A multitude of quotations might be made to show that this is true:

"I have indeed heard and read," said Sabino, "that love is union, and is unity, and is as a bond straitly drawn betwixt those that have mutual love, and that, since this is so, the lover is transformed into the object of his love, in such manner that he becomes one thing with it."

"And think you," said Juliano, "that all love is thus?"

"In truth I do," answered Sabino.

"Love is not then unity," said Juliano, "so much as an appetite and a desire for unity."

Sabino reflected for a while, and then said as follows:

"I know not, Juliano, to what this conversation of yours to-day is leading, nor what you are endeavouring to attain thereby. But since you bind me thus, I will put it to you that there are two kinds of love, or two manners of loving—the one of desire, and the other of fruition. I will say further that in the one way of love and in the other likewise there is a certain unity. The one desires it, and, so far as is in its power, creates it; the other possesses and embraces (*abrazar*) it, and delights in it and takes new life from it. The one journeys towards this happy end; the other rests therein and has fruition. The one is as it were the beginning, the other is the sum and perfection. But both turn upon unity alone, as though upon a hinge: the one creates it, the other has fruition of it." ³

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Amado (N.C., vol. iii, p. 118). ² *Ibid.* (p. 119).

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de paz (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 186 ff.). See also the passage from the chapter "Esposo" entitled "Love and Unity" and translated in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 157-60.

The essential quality—the driving force—of the mystic, then, is in Fray Luis' writings, and it is described with an intensity surpassed by few. He finds all the inspiration which Christian mystics of every age have found in the *Song of Songs*. Though he limited himself greatly in his commentary on that book, for reasons which it is needless here to enlarge upon, he leaves no doubt that it enshrines for him the secret of the mystical life. In it are described "the passionate love of true lovers, their enkindled desires, their constant anxieties, the bitter anguish stirred within them by absence and by fears." All the experiences of the lover are stored in that book, intensified to a greater degree than would otherwise be possible, because the love described is not that of man for man, but of man for God.¹

V

We next endeavour to trace, if it be possible, any continuous account of the mystical journey which Fray Luis may have left us. One passage certainly there is, in the chapter of the *Names of Christ* entitled "Christ the Way" which suggests the traditional threefold progress :

And all they that walk in this way may be reduced to three classes : to "beginners," as they are called, in virtues, to the "proficient" therein, and to those that are termed "perfect." Of the which three orders are composed all the elect of the Church, even as its image, the Temple of old, was made up of three parts. . . . Christ, then, is a threefold Way ; for He is the open, level high-road for the imperfect, a way wherein those that have more strength may walk, and a holy way for those that are perfect therein.²

It would be unjustifiable to claim that this is intended to be a description of the Mystic Way,³ and to press overmuch the correspondence between the *principiantes*, *aprovechados* and *perfectos* and those who are respectively

¹ *Traducción y declaración del Libro de los Cantares*, Prólogo.

² *Nombres de Cristo*, Camino (N.C., vol. i, p. 118).

³ In his Latin commentary on the *Song of Songs* he applies a similar distinction more explicitly to the Mystic Way (*Opera*, ii, 42).

in the purgative, illuminative and unitive ways. But there is a correspondence at least as strong as in the threefold division observed by Osuna, and the plan of St. Ignatius' *Exercises*.¹ The division is one common to mystical theology, and there are reminiscences of mystical language which show that Fray Luis has the Mystic Way, at the least, in the back of his mind. "Happy is the lot," he cries, "of those that make that blessed journey, so full of delight, wherein the Way is Christ, and He is the Guide thereon, and the safety and guardianship is none other than His, and His ransomed creatures are they that walk in this Way."² Though the reference here is primarily to Isaiah xxxv, 8-10, the figures have been used from early times to describe the Mystic Way.³ The same may be said of other parts of this chapter.

The glimpses of the mystical graces and joys which come through mental prayer may be conveyed by Luis de León only faintly and fleetingly, but there is no denying that they have a place in his writings. A long and eloquent passage, for example, describes the "birth of Christ in the soul"—a mystical term carefully distinguished from the theological expression of the "new birth" of the soul in Christ.⁴ Of the former term Fray Luis writes :

The birth of Christ in us is not only that the gift of grace comes to the soul, but that Christ's very Spirit comes and is united with it—nay, is infused throughout its being, as though He were soul of its soul indeed. And thus, infused and absorbed by the soul, this Spirit takes possession of its faculties and powers, not fleetingly nor in haste, nor merely for a short time as happens in the glories of contemplation and in the raptures (*arrobamientos*) of the spirit, but abidingly, and with a settled peace, in like manner as the soul reposes in the body. And Christ Himself says of it

¹ See pp. 15, 111, above.

² *Nombres de Cristo*, Camino (N.C., vol. i, p. 124).

³ *Ibid.* (pp. 118-19).

⁴ *Nombres de Cristo*, Hijo de Dios (N.C., vol. iii, pp. 81 ff.). Of the "new birth" Fray Luis says: "The birth of the soul in Christ signifies properly that the stain of sin, which made the soul in form like to the devil, is taken away, and that we receive the grace and righteousness which God implants in us, and which is as an image of Christ, so that we are fashioned after His likeness."

thus : " He that loveth Me shall be loved of My Father, and We will come unto him, and make Our abode in him." ¹

In this passage two mystical experiences are mentioned, and both are described with greater fulness in the pages which follow it. There is the brief, ecstatic visit which is one of the joys of mental prayer—real and unmistakable while it lasts, but " a thing more of favour than of need," and therefore of brief duration :

In the inspiration and the graces which come through prayer, all the business of Christ is with the powers of the soul—the will, the understanding, the memory. At times He touches even the bodily senses, and communicates Himself to them in diverse and wondrous ways, in such degree as these feelings are possible to the human body. So entirely is the soul overwhelmed with superfluity of sweetness that the overplus passes to others. Whence these seasons of enlightenment and graces, or this union in sweetness of the soul with Christ in prayer, have something in them of the lightning flash : I mean that their brilliance is quickly over. For our powers and feelings, while this mortal life endures, are of necessity compelled to busy themselves with other thoughts and cares, without which man lives not, nor can live.²

The other experience, that of the " birth of Christ," is a more intimate and permanent state, as we have already seen :

In what we call His birth, the Spirit of Christ is united with the very being of the soul, and begins to work His virtue upon it, embracing it closely without its perception or knowledge. And there He rests, hidden as it were in its very depths : as Isaiah says, " Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for the Lord of Israel is within thee." ³ And even as He rests within its depths, He sheds over it the rays of His power, and moves it secretly. And by this movement, and the obedience of the soul thus moved, it becomes ever a more spacious dwelling, a larger room and a room more fitly prepared.⁴

There is this further difference between the two states. In the passing experience of contemplation,

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Hijo de Dios (N.C., vol. iii, p. 81). The reference is to St. John, xiv, 23.

² *Ibid.* (p. 83).

³ See *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, p. 161.

⁴ *Nombres de Cristo*, Hijo de Dios (N.C., vol. iii, pp. 82-3).

“ the greater part of the soul and its powers are at rest.” God grants indescribable favours to the soul in this state, but they can be no more than favours, for “ life is given us for work, and this delight, while it lasts, turns us away from work, in its stead giving fruition.” In the lasting experience, the Spirit of Christ animates the soul :

His Spirit is as a soul with respect to our soul, and does within it the work of a soul, moving it to act as it ought in all that offers, inspiring it with a strength to be up and doing, and so working in it and moving it that by Its aid the soul works together with It.¹

It is a “ living union,” “ life and existence itself ” ; it is granted “ abidingly and for ever, because if it fail there can be no life.”

So the “ birth of Christ in the soul ” is a “ union.” In what sense, it will be asked ? Is it the Spiritual Betrothal or the Spiritual Marriage of mystical theology ?

Hardly ; for the conditions on which it comes to pass are described in the lines following the extract above quoted as the familiar ones of repentance, conversion and satisfaction. It is for all those who have passed along the Purgative Way. It would seem then to be a peculiar form of illumination, perhaps connected with St. Teresa's Prayer of Quiet, or Fourth Mansion ; the temporary and fleeting favours contrasted with it would probably not correspond exactly with those of any single Mansion. It cannot be in any way identical with the Prayer of Union which, as we have seen, lasts for a brief time only, and is of an intenser kind. But that it might in some souls be the prelude to the favours of the higher Mansions seems very probable.

We must be prepared for an unexpected intensity of language when Fray Luis writes of this state—indeed, throughout his writings, we have to guard now and then against attributing more to his words than he intended. “ Through the Spirit of Christ, which He communicates to the just and inspires in them,” we read, for example, “ each one of them is called Christ, and all of them

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Hijo de Dios (N.C., vol. iii, p. 84).

together make one very Christ.”¹ It is unlikely that in such a passage as this Fray Luis is doing more than applying to the mystical life, in very general terms, language inspired by St. Paul’s Epistles.² Yet that to have reached this particular state is to have attained great spiritual heights is manifest from places where Fray Luis writes of it with unwonted ardour. Love prostrates in adoration the hearts of those that know it, and makes them to be one with the object of their love :

It will kindle in them an ardent desire to serve Him, and make them to give Him their whole hearts, turned, as it were, into gold—that is to say, into love. It will make it their continual desire to pray that His kingdom may grow and His glory ever farther and wider extend. It will give them hearts so united and made one with Him that they will pray for naught to the Father save through Him. From the fervour of their souls their ardent love will spring ever to their lips and issue therefrom in continual praise, which neither time shall put to silence, nor the end of the ages cause to cease—no, nor the very sun, should it stay in its course ; for they shall praise Him so long as the love which inspires them shall endure, which is for ever and ever, and world without end.³

Eloquently, however, as Fray Luis writes of this “illuminative” union, one is tempted to ask whether he does not conceive of higher states which can be reached in this present life. It is difficult to give a certain answer to this question, since his terminology is extremely vague. He writes, for instance, of the “union” of the soul with Christ under the figure, familiar to all students of the mystics, of an iron in the fire. “We speak of a red-hot iron as of fire—not that it is of the substance of fire, but because in its qualities, its heat, glow and colour, and in its effects, it is fire.”⁴ Yet immediately afterwards he puts forward an argument, continually refuted by St. Teresa and others,⁵ which shows at once that he is

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Pimpollo (N.C., vol. i, p. 72).

² E.g. Gal. iv, 19, to which Luis de León refers in the passage following that quoted, so that he may well have had it in mind.

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Amado (N.C., vol. iii, pp. 113-4).

⁴ *Nombres de Cristo*, Esposo (N.C., vol. ii, p. 209).

⁵ See p. 162, above.

thinking not of the unitive life of the Seventh Mansion, as one might otherwise have supposed, but of something quite different :

Is it not certain that union between God and man is naught else than the reception by man of the virtue of grace . . ., which heavenly quality, when planted in the soul, bestows upon it many of the attributes of God, and fashions it after His likeness ? ¹

It is true that Fray Luis attributes to grace qualities of deification which are seldom spoken of in connexion with it,² but his description in no way tallies with St. Teresa's.

In spite of such difficulties, however, there can be traced in Fray Luis' thought a conception of two mystical states higher than the illuminative state already described. The first corresponds approximately to the Spiritual Betrothal. It would seem at first to be indistinguishable from the state which follows, so exalted a union is it :

What, then, shall I say of . . . this closest of all bonds with the Divine Word, and that personal union which alone, if all else should fail, is immensity of righteousness and riches ? For the Word unites with that happy soul, and through it with the body likewise, penetrating it wholly, and absorbing it in Himself, so that in very truth the soul not only has God dwelling within it, but is indeed God. Yea, that soul has within itself all that which God is : His being, His wisdom, His goodness, His power. And not only has it God in itself, but He is united with it so straitly and intimately that it cannot free itself neither can it be separate.³

But after using such exalted language, after asserting that the soul in such union with God *is* God, and that "absolute perfection" belongs to it, he qualifies his description by adding the words "for *so long as* it is possessed by Him and united with Him in the manner whereof I speak" ⁴—from which it follows that, though

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Esposo (N.C., vol. ii, p. 209).

² *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de Paz (N.C., vol. ii, p. 161). "So that grace is as it were a deity, and a living figure of Christ Himself; set within the soul it penetrates it wholly, and deifies it, and, to speak truth, becomes soul of its soul."

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Cordero (N.C., vol. iii, p. 240).

⁴ *Ibid.* : "mientras dél preso estuviere, o con él unida en la manera que digo."

both in nature and degree this lofty state would seem to correspond to that of the Spiritual Marriage, it is temporary and transitory, and thus answers rather to the Spiritual Betrothal.

Another degree of union there is above the Spiritual Betrothal which would appear to embody Fray Luis' conception of the Spiritual Marriage on earth. While the idea of personality is always adhered to, and no negation of the self is even hinted at, the soul is considered to be so completely informed by God that it is deified, becomes one with God—and in that sense becomes God.

Several descriptions of this state will now be quoted. It may be arguable that they refer to one of the states already mentioned, or that in the author's mind all three states are as one. But to reason thus would be to convict Fray Luis of extreme looseness of thought, or inexcusable hyperbole; and vague, perhaps purposely so, as his language is at times, he can hardly be said to have proved guilty, in other respects, of either of these faults as well.

The first passage describes the state of union under the familiar figure of the penetration of the atmosphere by the sun, and also under that of human marriage. It is difficult to interpret it of anything save of the highest degree of union :

So then, just as a cloud which is penetrated by the force and brightness of the sun's rays, filled and (if the word be allowable here) saturated with light, is itself like a sun, however it be looked at; just so, when Christ unites, not only His virtue and light, but His very Body and Spirit, with the faithful and just, and in some sort mingles His very Soul with their souls, and His Body with their bodies, in the way I have described, Christ looks out from their eyes, speaks with their tongues, works through their senses; their faces, their countenances, their movements are Christ, Who thus occupies them wholly. So intimately does He take possession of them that, though His Nature in no way destroys or corrupts their own, there will be nothing seen in them at the Last Day, nor will any nature be found in them other than His Nature. There will be that one Nature in all; and both He and they will be one and the same in Himself.

Strong indeed, Sabino, is that tie, and so fast a bond of union

that in nothing which Nature has formed or art invented are the divers parts knit together with so fine and so invisible a bond as this. Indeed, it is like the union of matrimony, but so much the stronger and more excellent as the rite is the straiter and more pure. It is purer than betrothal or marriage after the flesh ; and even so, or more, does it excel such marriage in the intimacy of its union. For whereas in the one there is defilement of the body, in the other there is deification both of soul and flesh. Here there is mutual affection between the wills of two persons ; there all is one will and one desire. Here the body of the one is master of the other ; there, without destruction of her substance, Christ the Spouse transforms His Bride into His own Body, in the manner aforesaid. Here, men often stray ; there, they walk ever securely. Here, we find continually anxiety and care, sworn foes of concord and union ; there, that rest and security which helps and favours the state of those at one. Here, the union of two is to bring into the world a third ; there, one union leads to another, one embrace to another, and its fruit is oneness for evermore.

Here, happiness is but weak, delight of base alloy and brief duration ; there, both are so great that they submerge alike body and soul—so noble, that they are glory—so pure, that sorrow neither precedes nor follows them, nor is joined nor mingled with them.¹

No physical union—even that between the properties of a man's own body—can be so much as compared with the union between God and the soul. He penetrates it altogether, and is made one with its inmost self :

Who can tell of the intimacy of this union (*ayuntamiento*) with God, for it is beyond compare ! I think not to describe that whereof I have already spoken, repeating how many and how diverse are the manners wherein God is united with our bodies and souls. But I say that when we are most deeply engrossed in the possession of the good things pertaining to the body, and have become wholly masters of them, all the intimacy and union thereof is weak and ill-knit by comparison with this bond. For the senses, and all things that are united with the senses, are joined only in the outward accidents . . . but God, when He is united (*abrazado*) with the soul, penetrates it wholly and enters all its secret chambers, till He is made one with its inmost being ; and

¹ *Nombres de Cristo, Esposo* (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 217–19).

herein, when He has become soul of its soul and is straitly entwined with it, He enfolds it in the most intimate union (*la abraza estrechísimamente*). For which cause the Scripture says in many places that God dwells in the centre of the heart. And David in the psalm compares it to the ointment poured upon the head of the priest, that ran down upon his beard, and went down to the skirts of his garments.¹ And in the book of Wisdom, for the same cause, God is compared to the cloud that penetrates everywhere.²

And not merely in great part is God united with the soul, but He is united wholly ; and not gradually, one part succeeding another, but all together and at once, with no waiting of one part for the other ; which is the reverse of that which takes place with the body, the good things of which (or that which it holds to be good things) come to it slowly and gradually, one after the other, now this, now that, so that before it can enjoy the second it has already lost the first. . . .

From all this it may be concluded that not only is there delight in this betrothal (*desposorio*) and union (*ayuntamiento*) of the soul with God, but that it is a delight which, from whatsoever aspect it be regarded, is greater than any other. For neither is it mingled with necessity, nor diluted with sorrow, nor is it given partially, nor corrupted in any degree soever. Neither is it born of lesser favours, nor of indifferent or weak embraces ; neither is it a base delight nor lightly apprehended, as are the delights of our base and superficial senses. But it is wealth divine, and intimate fruition, abundance of delight, unsullied happiness, which bathes the whole soul, and inebriates it, and overwhelms (*anega*) it in such wise that its state can be described by none.³

The well-known figure of fire is used, this time with no suggestion that the flames can ever cease.

And if in words or by outward demonstrations the delight of the soul may be described, all these words that signify the greatest possible delight may be used, for all of them describe it. From the smallest beginnings it increases little by little, and as the breath of fruition ever gathers in strength, the soul, like a ship with sails full spread, sails upon a sea of sweetness, till at last it is consumed in flames of fire most wondrously sweet, through the operation of the hidden sparks which in the beginning it received within itself.

¹ Ps. cxxxiii, 2.

² Ecclus. xxiv, 3-4.

³ *Nombres de Cristo*, Esposo (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 228-230). Cf. pp. 369-70, below.

Then in this state the soul that is with God is like to wood that is not yet wholly dry when it is brought near to the fire. As it gathers warmth from the fire and receives into itself the heat, it becomes more and more fitted and prepared to receive yet further heat . . . till in the end it is completely overmastered by the fire . . . and appears as fire itself.¹

Finally we have this short and beautiful prayer of the mystic, which represents the *ne plus ultra* of Luis de León in the direction of absorption of personality, and cannot be said to denote his general position :

Thou that art Light, Love and Life ; fulness of rest, infinite beauty, endless wealth of sweetness : grant Thou to me that I may be dissolved (*me deshaga*) and transformed wholly into Thyself.²

It will be remarked that, with all his eloquence, Fray Luis gives hardly any of those long, detailed and sublime descriptions of the highest Mansions that we find (for example) in the Carmelite saints, whence principally arises the sense of anti-climax which results from comparing him with them. One feels continually, in spite of indications to the contrary, that he conceives of the difference between the illuminative and the unitive life as one principally of intensity. Again and again he says, or implies, that any believer, whether mystically-minded or no, without training or exercise in mental prayer, can reach the illuminative state, and he gives no warning that the higher states are beyond the reach of all but a very few in this life. He does, however, prefer as a rule the term " betrothal " (*desposorio*) to that of " marriage " (*matrimonio* or *bodas*) and there is no doubt that he thought and wrote often of the eventual union of Christ with the Church, His Bride, as the true spiritual Marriage of the soul. The result is that it is dangerous to interpret isolated phrases as referring to the mystical life on earth, for, unless their context proves it to be otherwise, they may well refer to the consummation of the earthly life in Heaven. In the same way the student must beware of interpreting passages referring to the Church as describing the individual soul.

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Esposo (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 234-5). ² *Ibid.* (p. 236).

The following extract, a typical example of an unmistakable reference to the marriage in Heaven of Christ and His Bride, the Church, will show the difficulty of interpreting passages where the reference is less clear.

I will speak now of the manner wherein Christ has dealt with this His Spouse during the time which has passed since their betrothal and will continue till the day of their lawful marriage. I will speak of the gifts and the endearing names which during this time He has bestowed upon her, and of the precious jewels and pledges of His love, and it may be of the laws of love also, and of the bridal chamber, and of the feasts and bridal hymns which are ordained for that day. For, even as it comes to pass that certain men are betrothed to their wives when these are yet but children, and wait until they reach the lawful age before they take them in marriage, even so must we understand that Christ was betrothed to the Church at her very birth, or rather that He created her and caused her to be born that she might become His Spouse, and in His own time He will take her in marriage.

And we must understand that, as men whose brides are yet children make gifts to them and caress them first as children, and then, as they grow in years, their manner of love towards them grows likewise, and their shows of love become more real, even so has Christ continued nurturing and caressing His Spouse the Church as she has grown in years, in manners differing according to her age—first, when she was a child, and then as one of age more advanced; He treats her now as a damsel grown in wisdom and stature and well-nigh of an age to be wedded.¹

VI

In both his mystical and his non-mystical passages, the deepest impression of all which Luis de León leaves upon the reader is of his overwhelming desire for peace. This is singularly pathetic in one who, not always through faults of his own, lived an earthly life of unusual dispeace and turmoil. “Oh, that I had wings like a dove!” is his cry, “for then would I fly away and be at rest.” He

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Esposo (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 236–8). At the beginning of the chapter the term *esposo* is made applicable to either the individual or the collective concept: “For if Christ is the Spouse of the whole Church, and of each of the souls of the righteous, as in fact He is. . . .” The application, however, throughout this chapter, is made primarily to the Church.

looks forward above everything to the day when he shall "fly from this earthly prison, wherein the soul now immured labours and toils" and "though buried now in darkness, shall rise to the pureness and brightness of eternal light."¹

The constant theme of his verse is the future life, and the *rest* which it will bring him. "In morte vero quiescimus."² Not only is it the subject of "The Heavenly Life" (as one would expect), and of "Night of Stars" (as may at least be easily explained), but it enters other poems, such as the Ode to Salinas, and that to Felipe Ruiz on moderation and constancy,³ where it would seem to have found its way by chance, simply because it was the dominant idea in its author's mind. M. Coster, with happy skill,⁴ has analysed another ode to Felipe Ruiz,⁵ and shown how the thought of the entire poem of fourteen stanzas is contained in the first two stanzas and the last, the remainder being not merely amplification, but imitation and adaptation of Virgil, Horace and a psalm.⁶

This longing for peace is one of the few characteristics which all Fray Luis' writings reveal—whether in verse

¹ Cf. p. 326, above.

² *Opera*, vol. i, p. 427.

³ ¿Qué vale cuanto vee . . .

⁴ *Revue Hispanique*, vol. liv, p. 240.

⁵ ¿Cuándo será que pueda . . .

⁶ These three stanzas run thus :

¿Cuándo será que pueda
libre de esta prisión volar al cielo,
Felipe, y en la rueda
que huye más del suelo,
contemplar la verdad pura sin velo ?

Allí a mi vida junto
en luz resplandeciente convertido,
veré distinto y junto,
lo que es, y lo que ha sido,
y su principio propio y escondido.

Veré sin movimiento
en la más alta esfera las moradas
del gozo y del contento,
de oro y de luz labradas,
de espíritus dichosos habitadas.

or in prose, of pagan inspiration or of Christian. It informs not only his aspirations towards the joys of Heaven, but also his Horatian enjoyment of the rustic garden and simply garnished table, the life lived to himself, "alone, contemplative."

In some well-known lines written after regaining his freedom from the dungeon of the Inquisition, he sighs for the rest of a quiet country life—though, in fact, his restless, ambitious nature plunged him into the bitter strife again which had led to his imprisonment.

Aquí la envidia y mentira
me tuvieron encerrado :
dichoso el humilde estado
del sabio que se retira
de aqueste mundo malvado ;
y con pobre mesa y casa
en el campo deleitoso,
con solo Dios se compasa,
y a solas su vida pasa
ni envidiado, ni envidioso.

Falsehood and hatred here
Held me in prison pent :
Happy whose life is spent
In learning's humble sphere ;
None there malevolent.
He, with poor house and fare,
Communes with God alone,
And in the country fair
Dwells solitary, there
Unenvied, envying none.¹

But though such lines as these extol a life which, laudable as it may be, is on the whole a life not only of peace, but also of sufficiency and leisure, the aspirations of Fray Luis are seldom for long on so low a plane. Spiritual peace is the chief end of his restless, turbulent desire, and it is of this that he writes in one of the greatest of his prose passages :

Without any doubt peace is that good part which is in all things everywhere : wherever men see it they love it. And not

¹ " Al Salir de la Cárcel."

peace alone, but the sight of its very image arouses our love, and makes us burn with longing to approach it, for we tend easily and without effort to approach our greatest good. And if we confess the truth, as confess it we needs must, not only is peace sought generally by all, but it alone and naught beside is so sought and desired and pursued. For all our work, so long as we live this life, and all our desire and labour, are directed towards the attainment of this good part, this peace. It is the goal to which all direct their thoughts, the consummation to which all aspire. For if the merchant takes a ship and ploughs the seas, it is to be at peace with his ambition, which ever importunes and assails him. And the labourer tilling the soil in the sweat of his brow seeks peace by driving stern penury from him, so far as he may. So also he who follows pleasure, covets honour or cries out for revenge : all these, beneath their several aims, seek peace. For they pursue some good thing which they lack, or flee from some evil which molests them.

And because both that good thing which the desire pursues, and the evil which is borne in fear and sorrow, disturb the repose of the soul, and are as enemies making war upon it, it is clear that all man's deeds are naught but efforts to flee from war and to pursue peace. And if this peace is our great and only good, who may be its Prince—that is, its chief fountain-head and source—save Him who is the author and begetter of all that is good, Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God? For if to possess peace is to be free from evils which afflict us and desires which torment, and to enjoy quietness and rest, it is He alone Who can free our souls from fear, and enrich them with such manner of good things, that there remains no more which they can desire.¹

And what is peace? Not mere cessation from labour and strife, or freedom from trouble and anxiety, but an “orden sosegada”—the ideal combination of order and rest. “Of two distinct things is peace composed, namely, rest and order. And in such wise is it composed of them that there can be no peace if either of them, whichever it be, is lacking.”² For this peace to be complete, the soul must be in accord with God, with itself and with those around it. By accord with God is meant a state of complete submission and obedience, and receptiveness with regard to His gifts. By self-accord

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de paz (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 137–8).

² *Ibid.* (p. 139).

Fray Luis signifies willing submission of the senses to the reason. Accord with others hardly needs explanation : the results of its absence among us, says our author, are daily evident. While any part or aspect of this complete peace is of " the greatest utility and profit " to man and is much to be desired, true and perfect happiness belongs only to the whole.

It is only the man who enjoys true spiritual peace that can live this earthly life with any fulness. " For him alone the glorious day comes to birth ; it is only he who can see the brilliant sun." ¹ He is in harmony both with God and man, as it were the notes of a stringed instrument, or the stones of a building fitly framed together.² With anything that life can bring he is content : " the food of angels is his perpetual meat ; light of heart, he enjoys it with no fear of its being taken from him. For no enemy can be an enemy to him while he lives in the fulness of sweet and abundant peace." ³

We should wish to write no word that would even appear to alienate Fray Luis from the mystic's first and essential position—the spirit of the lines " No me mueve, mi Dios." But as we read his lyrics and his *Names of Christ*, we realize to how great an extent the conception which he holds of union is identified with one of peace, and how closely therefore his natural yearning for peace is allied to his love of God. This is sufficiently clear from what has already been written, and need not be laboured.⁴ But it is the cause from time to time of a confusion, which should not be regretted, because it fuses Luis de León's mystical passages with the rest of his work and allows us to see the man and his ideals as one whole. Sometimes we hardly know, as has been said, if he is writing of a haven of peace on earth or of man's final rest in the world beyond the grave ; of the innermost mansion of the interior castle or of the eternal mansions of Heaven. So little is he apt to say of the union he hopes for—so

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Príncipe de paz (N.C., vol. ii, pp. 176-7).

² *Ibid.* (pp. 151-2). Cf. Eph. ii, 21 ; iv, 16.

³ *Ibid.* (p. 177).

⁴ Many passages illustrating this point will be found in the chapter " Príncipe de Paz."

much of the peace it brings. Yet in such passages he is often most truly inspired as he thrills with the contrast between the life of love—be it primarily of peace or of union on earth or in Heaven—and the “miserable exile” of those who have not yet attained to the one or to the other :

To compare these is to compare unrest with peace—the disorder, discord, turmoil, tumult and discontent of the city of all dispeace with purity, sweetness and tranquillity itself. Here man strives, there he rests. Here he imagines, there he beholds. Here the shadows of things make us to be affrighted and dismayed. There truth grants us calm and joy. Here we have darkness, tumult and unrest ; there we have the purest light in tranquillity eternal.¹

¹ *Nombres de Cristo*, Pastor (N.C., vol. i, pp. 133-4).

CHAPTER VII
JUAN DE LOS ÁNGELES

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I

THOUGH more is known of the life of the Franciscan Fray Juan de los Ángeles than of those of many of his fellows, this is only because of more diligent and comparatively recent research. "Like a good son of St. Francis," writes his most efficient biographer,¹ "he says but little of himself," and there is scanty information outside his writings to supplement what is known of his life from within them. He was born near Oropesa, in the diocese of Avila, probably in 1536, his family name being Martínez. Various evidence suggests that he studied first in Oropesa,² proceeding later to the University of Alcalá to broaden his education by learning Greek and Hebrew, and so laying the basis of the erudition which was afterwards his. It is not known when or where he took the Franciscan habit: the date was anterior to 1562, and, in whichever province he professed, he was soon transferred to that of San José, where he spent the rest of his religious life. On making his profession he took the title of "los Ángeles" by which he is known.

From 1572 to 1576 Fray Juan was in Madrid, and here it is thought that he laid the foundations of his later reputation as a preacher. Soon afterwards he was sent to Zamora, where he may well have written much of his earliest book. Returning to Madrid in 1585, he acted as definitor of his province for the succeeding four years.

¹ The late Fr. Jaime Sala, in the "Introducción bio-bibliográfica" to his valuable edition of *Obras místicas del M.R.P. Fr. Juan de los Ángeles* which forms part of the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (vols. xx, xxiv). From the text of that edition quotations will invariably be made in this chapter unless the contrary is stated, the abbreviation, N.B.A.E., i, ii, (*i.e.* for vols. xx, xxiv, respectively) being used. References to N.B.A.E., ii, are to the exposition of the *first* chapter of the *Song of Songs* except where otherwise stated.

² It is worth noting that he probably met, while still a boy, St. Peter of Alcántara, who made at least two visits to the school at Oropesa, in 1546 and 1554.

In 1589 he completed the *Triumphs of the Love of God*, had the book printed in Medina del Campo, and published it in 1590.

Its success was not as great as he had hoped—a fact which he duly recorded in a later book¹—but he soon followed it with another, the *Dialogues of the Conquest of the Spiritual and Secret Kingdom of God*, approved in Lisbon in 1593, but published in Madrid only in 1595. The years intervening between the publication of the two books were spent in Seville (c. 1590–2) and in Lisbon (c. 1592–3). From his return to Madrid in 1593 onwards he spent some years in busy active life, his reputation growing with the considerable success of his second book² and his usefulness and consequent activity increasing with his reputation. In the year of the publication of the *Conquest* its author was elected Guardian (or Superior) of the monastery of San Antonio in Guadalajara, and three years later that of San Bernardino in Madrid, the most important religious house in its province. Even here he was not allowed to remain at his post, and we find him on various errands in Seville, other parts of Andalucía, Extremadura, and perhaps even Italy and France. Yet all this time, too, he was writing. In 1600 appeared the *Spiritual and Amorous Strife between God and the Soul*, which was also successful,³ in 1604 the *Spiritual Treatise of the Divine Sacrifice of the Mass*, and in 1608 a continuation of the *Conquest* entitled *Manual of the Perfect Life*. In 1601 Fray Juan had been elected Provincial of San José, a post which of course increased his active duties tenfold ; and, in addition to the journeys all over the wide province which he had to make, he was now confessor to the nun-infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz,⁴ and preacher to the Royal Chapel of her mother, the Empress Maria of Austria. Such a strain was too great even for a robust Castilian and an untiring son of

¹ *Conquest of the Kingdom of God*, x, cit. Sala in N.B.A.E., i, p. xvi.

² Striking testimony to this (some of it, however, at second hand) will be found in N.B.A.E., i, pp. xxi–xxiii.

³ See Sala, in N.B.A.E., i, p. xxviii.

⁴ She had entered the religious life and was in the convent of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid, whose confessor Fr. Juan de los Angeles was.

St. Francis ; so, having been for some years ailing in health,¹ and knowing that his gifts were rather those of the preacher and confessor than the administrator, he resigned his provincial ministry at the beginning of 1603, when only half his term of three years had expired. Even so he would seem to have been sufficiently occupied, and it is amazing to find that in 1607 he brought out a work almost equal in bulk to the whole of his other writings put together, namely, the *Spiritual Considerations upon the Book of the Song of Songs of Solomon*. It is clear both from its length (and it deals with the first two chapters only) and from various references of its author, that this book had occupied many years of a busy life. It was dedicated to the Empress, who, though she had been dead for three years when it appeared, had followed its composition at an earlier date and studied it, so it seems, in its entirety. The dedicatory epistle shows that Fray Juan was no creature of royalty,² but had a deep personal affection, as well as a due respect, for one who had given him so many proofs of her interest.

The *Treatise on the Song of Songs*, though incomplete, brought the works of Fray Juan to a noble conclusion. The only writings of any length which we have not mentioned in this sketch are a short and popular devotional work with a long title³ generally abbreviated to *Treatise on the Presence of God* (1604), and the *Spiritual Garden of the Religious Soul* (1610), which, when its author died, was passing through the numerous processes which in those days preceded publication.

The ill-health of which we may read here and there⁴

¹ Cf. the words put into the mouth of the pupil in *Conquista*, Dial. vi, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 97). There are other and less pointed references to the ill-health of the instructor in the dialogues of the *Conquista* and *Manual*.

² For an anecdote which drives this conclusion home, see *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, p. 127. His writings show abundantly that he was confessor to many persons of high rank, apart from the aristocratic convent already mentioned, yet P. Sala tells us (N.B.A.E., i, p. xliii) that he made a practice of hearing the confessions of poor folk in the church as well as of the sisters in the convent.

³ *Spiritual Treatise of how the Soul should ever have God before it, to which is newly added a Spiritual Rosary*.

⁴ See note 1, above.

developed, about 1603, into a painful malady, which never left him, and led to his death at the end of the year 1609. The scanty external evidence and the testimony of his works suggest that he was by nature a typical student—singularly gentle and perhaps unassertive, but notably sincere and loyal.¹ He had, both in the worldly and the unworldly sense, been a notable and successful director and preacher. He had laboured unceasingly on behalf of his Order and Province for most of a long life of some seventy-three years ; and, like St. John of the Cross in another Discalced order, he had not always found love and appreciation where he deserved it. More than all this, he had written with assiduity and eloquence books which were to speak to generations long after his death, and to countries which he never knew. This corpus of work we are now to examine.

II

The *Triumphs of the Love of God* (1590) and the *Spiritual Strife* (1600) are in reality complementary, the second being a revised version of the first, with considerable additions, and the omission of only one important chapter and an appendix.² It will therefore be both

¹ These qualities, I think, may be fairly deduced, leaving apart the eulogies of contemporaries, from the content of his own works, especially from the following places : *Vergel*, prólogo (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 484-5), *Consideraciones*, Praeludium, vi (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 32-7), *Lucha*, Dedicatoria (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 276-8). Fray Antonio Torró draws an ampler and more laudatory picture of Juan de los Ángeles by applying to him the qualities revealed by the Master in the various dialogues (*Fray Juan de los Ángeles, Místico-Psicólogo*, Barcelona, 1924, vol. i, pp. 53-60). This seems hardly fair : the most that can be argued in this way from a work written in character is surely with reference to its general tone and nature.

² The following extract from the prologue to the *Spiritual Strife* (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 278-9) is instructive :

In years past I composed the book of the *Triumphs of the Love of God*, and as the difficulty of the subject made needful the multiplication of words and arguments, the work grew beyond all proportion. For it treats of that art which is a guide upon the most lofty road of the affections, an art which St. Dionysius termed mystical theology, and it behoved therefore that it should be brief, and its precepts few and of substance, even though it might not be understood by those whom we commonly denominate the vulgar ; for in truth this is not a doctrine for all, but rather for those who have already passed through the exercises of the purgative and the illuminative ways, whereof have been composed both many and lengthy treatises already.

reasonable and convenient to consider these two works as one.

A combination of their titles gives us the key to the nature of the double work. It is not a description of the mystic life, or a guide to its several mansions, or a chart showing its various stages, but a treatise on "the love of God," and an account of the Mystic Way only in so far as it is a "spiritual strife of love between God and the soul." God alone, says the prologue to the book, "is the centre of our soul, the term of our desires, and the sphere of our love. . . . In this book may the curious reader take knowledge that, for the soul that would reach God and become one with Him in spirit, there is none other means save love alone, whose property it is to transform the lover into the object of his love, and bring about the straitest unity."¹ Accordingly, the early chapters treat of the nature of love, of its various kinds and manifestations, and of its singular transformative power, embracing all that is embraced by its object. From this beginning the author proceeds to consider the uniqueness of the love of God and the sublime mystery of transformation when He is the Beloved. He takes an illustration from the union of marriage :

Let us suppose that a countryman of base extraction has three daughters of equal condition—equal with respect to lineage, nobility, dignity and beauty, and that he marries them all three : one to a countryman like himself, the second to a king, and the third to an emperor. It is clear that all of them, who by their nature were equal, and none more noble, rich or powerful than the rest, are after their marriages wholly unlike, according to the inequality of their husbands : she who married a rustic is a rustic ; she who married a king is a queen ; she who married an emperor is an empress. . .

Then how, O Lord, shall we not love Thee, if only that we may gain so great nobility ? What woman is there that desires not a spouse that is powerful, rich, prudent, noble and good, that she may have of him riches, power, pleasure and delight ? O what peace, what safety, what joy, what rest and fulness shall the soul possess that has Thee alone for its spouse ! Thou art rich, and it shall lack nothing. Thou changest not, and it shall know no change. Thou art very strong, and naught shall

¹ *Lucha*, Proemio (N.B.A.E., i, p. 279).

overwhelm it. Thou art most faithful, therefore shall naught disturb it. Thou art infinite and eternal, therefore shall it not fear to lose Thee. Verily Thou art my God, Who needest naught and lackest naught, and canst never fail the soul that truly loves Thee.¹

In these and similar passages Fray Juan shows the desirability of the life of union before expounding his main theme of the "strife." His text is the struggle between Jacob and the Angel,² the narrative of which he relates, and interprets according to St. Bernard. The incident of the struggle may be expounded mystically of the "strife of love." Only love can strive with God. God may be wounded by His lover, even as the lover may be wounded by God; and from the love that strives comes love again to the striver. But let it be noted that Jacob was entirely alone (*solo y a solas*) when God visited him: he had left all, even as the mystic must leave all. He strove by night, which is the time most meet for spiritual strife and prayer, and was created by God as much for this end as for rest.³

Fray Juan next considers certain practices of the wrestler, by following which the mystic may have power with God, passing to the Wounds of Love, whereby the soul is, as it were, enabled to make his God his Prisoner.⁴ "The Spouse is wounded and the wound is of love, for . . . only so can God, Who is invulnerable and immortal, be loved."⁵ With numerous quotations, from authors both sacred and profane, this theme is embellished⁶: the arrows⁷ are of desire, or of faith, or of humility, or again, in another sense, of the faculties of the intellect and the will.⁸ The discussion of the part played by these faculties in the mystic strife leads Fray Juan to

¹ *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 285-6).

² Gen. xxxii, 24-32.

³ *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 287).

⁴ *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 289-91).

⁵ *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 291). Cf. here Cant. iv.

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 297-8.

⁷ He speaks of them as "eyes" (Cant. iv, 9), but the figure of arrows is the more usual.

⁸ *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 9 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 298-9).

quote largely from Dionysius ¹—first, on wisdom human and divine, and afterwards, on the “divine darkness,” so characteristic of the latter’s teaching. Some of these and the following chapters we shall examine later. The final chapters of the first book deal with ejaculatory prayers, which are described as “arrows of fire” “flying straight from the soul to God,” ² and with self-love, the place of which here is justified by the description of it as the greatest impediment of those that would strive with God.

The second book still treats of the same theme, but rather of the action of God upon the soul than of the soul’s aspiration to God : “how with a look He wounds them ; how He enchains them and imprisons them ; how He makes them to be sick ; how He gives Himself to them, and being, as He is, their satisfaction and fulness complete, leaves them with a hunger so terrible that naught can cure it, whether things that are or that may be.” ³ In this book Fray Juan draws chiefly upon Richard of St. Victor for his principal theme. There are three “steps” or “triumphs” of love. The first is typified by the “arrows” of God’s love, which wound the soul but at times, like attacks of a fever which come and go. ⁴ The second is symbolized by the “chains” of love ; a continuous state in which the soul is never at rest but sighs unceasingly for her Beloved. The third triumph, or the “sickness” of love, is the name given to a state in which all else save desire for God is absent. “One thing the soul loves, one thing she desires, for one thing she thirsts, for one she longs, for one she yearns and sighs, and from this one thing issues fire that consumes her.” ⁵ Fray Juan plays upon this threefold theme, quoting

¹ He himself says in the prologue : “Herein is expounded a great part of that which St. Dionysius wrote very obscurely.” See pp. 364 ff., below.

² “The shortest and most compendious (way to union with God) is to raise the soul continually to the Lord, through . . . ejaculatory prayers ; for these like arrows of fire effectually penetrate and overcome all that is between God and the soul at prayer” *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 14 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 309).

³ *Lucha*, Proemio (N.B.A.E., i, p. 280).

⁴ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 322). Here Juan de los Ángeles does use the word *saetas* for arrows.

⁵ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 325).

numerous authorities, until at last he leaves it for that of "the blessed union which through ecstatic love there may be between God and the soul."¹ Chapters upon prayer and the Sacrament of the Altar complete the *Strife*, and the final chapter of the *Triumphs*, which consists of seven meditations, one for each day of the week, hardly belongs logically to either book.

The *Conquest of the Kingdom of God*, like its sequel the *Manual of Perfect Life*, is written in the form of a series of dialogues between a religious named Deseoso ("Desirous") and his spiritual instructor.² Fray Juan's avowed intention in adopting this form was to make the book less hard to read than the *Triumphs*, the ill-success of which he no doubt attributed to its weightiness and dependence on authorities. He desired therefore to vary his style, "writing sometimes in a style less humble and more difficult, as in the *Triumphs* for the more enlightened minds; at others in a plainer and clearer way for beginners (*pequeñuelos*) as I have done in these *Dialogues*, wherein the disciple represents those that know little and the master the learned and proficient."³ The aim of the *Conquest* is described somewhat vaguely as being to "give knowledge of the Kingdom of God, which is within us, and teach the order which is to be observed that we may enjoy it."⁴ Elsewhere Fray Juan speaks of his dialogues as leading up to the "quietude of recollection" (*recogimiento*), but as will be seen, in the course of his instruction he touches loftier points than this.

The first dialogue ("which to my thinking," says Fray Juan, "is the best, and contains the substance of all"⁵) is characteristic of the author's method. The

¹ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 10 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 339).

² *Conquista*, Prólogo al lector ("Esta ha sido la causa, etc."), N.B.A.E., i, p. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* He gives a not dissimilar preference also to the last Dialogue (see p. 357, below). Of the first he says at its conclusion (ed. cit., p. 50): "I here advise the religious and pious reader that in this dialogue alone is the sum of all mystical theology and that it is the spring of eternal life and the most sure road to perfect union with God."

teacher is none too careful to pin his pupil down to any particular point, or even sequence of thought, but allows him to take the initiative and only from time to time keeps it himself. Thus the dialogues are not, as in so many didactic treatises of the kind, merely lectures broken up by comments : the disciple does play a part, though the part be of necessity secondary.

As its author says, the first dialogue ranges somewhat widely over the field of mystical activity. Beginning with a discussion on the perfect life considered from quite a non-mystical standpoint, it proceeds to an eloquent passage, inspired by St. Augustine, on the "centre" and "depth of the soul."¹ It then returns to consider the "harmony" between the various parts of man, the "Divine" part leading the writer naturally to take up again the theme of perfect love towards God. From this point to the end of the dialogue the talk is of the mystic life :

Master : . . . God our Lord desires thee wholly for Himself, that there may be room within thee for no other thing created which is contrary to or wars against His will. And thus is it needful to rid oneself of all things, that God may dwell in thee as in His temple, for if thou remainest within thyself He cannot make in thee His dwelling. Hast thou never seen a great Prince enter a village upon the high road, and make a stay in the house of some rustic labourer ?

Disciple : Surely I have seen this.

Master : Then even as the labourer strips the house of all its adornments, great and small, ere he comes out and the Prince enters, because the Prince brings with him all such adornments and trappings as accord with his person, even so God, ere He comes to dwell within a soul, will have it strip itself of the love of all creatures and of itself.²

But the reader will note that the talk is of as general a nature as this passage would suggest. No sort of rule is laid down, no direction given, as to how the state of self-emptiness is to be reached. At the end of the

¹ Translated in part in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey* as "The Soul's Intimacy." It would seem in part to refer to the Unitive Life (see p. 369, below).

² *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 45-6).

Dialogue, when "night calls us to silence, and it is right that we should keep it," the master promises that on the next day they will "treat of the Conquest of the Kingdom of God, the which, as thou hast seen, is within us" and examine "the paths and roads which are in the interior life." ¹

The second dialogue treats entirely of penitence, confession and amendment of life, without which no man can follow those paths. The next four are concerned with the "four Doors or entrances to the Kingdom of God, which are : humility, abnegation of the will, tribulation borne with patience, and the Death of Christ our Redeemer." ² Under the second head something is said of the illuminative life,³ and under the third there is a mention of that "interior calamity and abandonment" ⁴ (*desamparo*) which St. John of the Cross describes as the "Dark Night of the Soul." These passages we shall consider later. The fourth head leads to a digression (Dialogue VI) upon the Stigmata of St. Francis.

In the seventh dialogue we are told of eleven enemies ⁵ who oppose the entry of the soul into the mystical kingdom of its own centre, which is the Kingdom of God. From this point to the end of the book it is presumed that they are overcome and the soul is in possession of the Kingdom, which means, we may suppose, that the soul has reached what St. Teresa terms the "inner mansions" and is practising contemplation.⁶ The three concluding dialogues give rules for the mystic, the conditions of perfect contemplation, the conditions under which it should be temporarily abandoned, its essentials and its accidents, etc. There is much mystical matter in these pages, and some of the higher contemplative states are described here and there ; but although

¹ *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 50).

² See *Spanish Mysticism*, p. 130, for a fuller description of these doorways.

³ A passage is quoted on p. 363, below.

⁴ *Conquista*, dial. iv, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 78). See pp. 365-8, below.

⁵ The word used is sometimes *enemigos* and sometimes *jayanes*.

⁶ The title of dialogue viii is : "Of the exercises to be practised by the contemplative, who has now found the Kingdom of God in his soul, and won it." Both the content of the chapter and Fray Juan's previous delimitation of his field (p. 354) show that no higher state than this is referred to.

an attempt is made to point the disciple to four well-marked stages in the mystic life,¹ they are only mentioned in passing, and not developed at any great length. The last chapter² is described by the author as the key to the whole matter : its counsels on introversion and recollection are certainly fundamental, but it would seem to be misplaced where it stands.

The *Manual of Perfect Life*, which follows, amplifies the *Conquest*, but can hardly be said to go beyond it. Its avowed aim, indeed, is the resolution of certain doubts which have presented themselves to Fray Deseoso in his study of the *Conquest*. Like that of the earlier book its first chapter may be taken as typical of the whole : we begin reading a discussion on the nature of "pure spirit," and before long are considering the effect of music on contemplatives, the danger of carnal affections, and the external accompaniments of prayer—all this without entirely leaving the original discussion for very long. There is thus in this *Manual* as much material that is properly ascetic as mystical, but we learn from it nevertheless a great deal about its author's mystical teaching.

Little need be said of the two smaller treatises of 1604. That on the Mass contains practically nothing that will be of great use to us in our present survey of its author's mind. Though it is penetrated deeply by the spirit of devotion, and is frequently indebted to Dionysius, it is nevertheless almost wholly doctrinal. The *Treatise on the Presence of God* is concerned, in a general fashion, with contemplation—its requisites, value, results, and the like—a great part of it also being devoted to the attitude of the contemplative towards the orthodox acts of worship. The latter part of the treatise describes four manners in which the presence of God may be apprehended : "the first is called sacramental ; the second, imaginative ; the third, intellectual ; the fourth, that of the mind or of the

¹ See dialogue viii (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 120-9), and pp. 361-2, below.

² Entitled : "Of the uniformity of the introversions or entrances of the soul into its depth or centre, which properly is the Kingdom of God ; and of recollection" (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 141-53).

affections or of the will.”¹ The last of these is described elsewhere as “unitive,”² but the passage relating to it, like the *Treatise* as a whole, does not add greatly to the author’s other teaching.

The *Spiritual Garden* has less originality than the foregoing treatises, and is also more doctrinal than any save that on the Mass. It deals largely with the Passion,³ its doctrinal background, its consummation, the sorrows of the Mind of Christ, the fruits of His Death, and the obligation upon Christian men to think upon it. There are but few references to the mystical life which will make this treatise of any importance for our purpose.

The long commentary on the first two chapters of the *Song of Songs* has many passages dealing with the several stages of the Mystic Way, though it says much more of the Purgative Way and of the Illuminative than of the Unitive. To one who could say of the *Song of Songs* : “All this book is metaphorical and symbolic, and there is in it not a word that has not a mystical meaning,”⁴ there could hardly fail to be many occasions for dealing with these grades of the mystical life. The value of the passages referred to, however, is somewhat minimized by the excessive use made of every conceivable authority, from the earliest Christian and pagan philosophers to contemporaries of Fray Juan de los Angeles himself, who are drawn upon to such an extent that it is difficult from this book alone to disentangle the views of its author. Fray Juan’s most recent commentator and panegyrist, a fellow-Franciscan who yields to none in his devotion to his memory, has perforce to allow that while the book is an “arsenal of erudition, culture and science both sacred and profane,” it is entirely “disconnected in its substance and without unity.”⁵

¹ *Presencia*, punto iv (N.B.A.E., i, p. 454). See pp. 361–3 below.

² *Ibid.* (ed. cit., p. 466).

³ Its full title being : “Book of the Spiritual Garden of the Religious Soul, which desires to feel within itself and the body the Sorrows and Passion of Jesus, and to be conformed with Him in life and in death.” The main title is inspired by *Cant.* v, 1.

⁴ *Consideraciones*, Præludium, iv (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 24).

⁵ P. F. Antonio Torró : *Fray Juan de los Angeles*, etc., vol. i, p. 75.

III

Though Juan de los Ángeles writes much of the Mystic Way, and it is the mystical side of his work which gives it its enduring value, the reader would be ill-advised who went to his books hoping to find in them a complete guide to the life of the mystic and an annotated handbook to the ascent of Carmel. In none of his writings does he set himself to describe the Mystic Way continuously from beginning to end, either according to his own experience of it or according to the testimony of others. Indeed, he seems disinclined to make his own any of those schemes, composed of "steps" and "stages," of which he so often writes as occurring in the works of others.¹ If Fray Deseoso had been really intent upon such a presentation of mysticism as that of the *Mansions*, he would have found the dialogues somewhat provoking and disappointing. At the beginning of the eighth dialogue of the *Conquest*, for example, the master names the "four roads" of the mystic life, without any adequate explanation of their nature.² He then branches off to expound a verse of the *Song of Songs*, which he has just quoted, and the trend of the dialogue is changed. At its conclusion the disciple asks for more detailed directions for pursuing the Mystic Quest,³ and is promised them for the morrow. Yet when the morrow comes the instruction is mainly concerned with generalities,⁴ and it is not till the tenth dialogue that the mystical life is again

¹ To take a few out of many examples, he seems most attracted by the scheme of Richard of St. Victor, the divisions and steps of love laid down by St. Bonaventura, St. Bernard, and St. Thomas, and the *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius.

² N.B.A.E., i, p. 121. See p. 361, below.

³ *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 8 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 129): "Truly hast thou caused to fall from the eyes of my soul as it were scales which allowed me neither to see nor to penetrate the riches of the spirit. I think that I lack but one thing that I may become perfectly instructed, to wit, that I may know the order according to which I may forsake the creatures and live the hidden life to the end that I may have fruition of God, forgetting all things else, and aspire to union with Him with uniformity of desire."

⁴ Apart from a very brief discussion on the nature of contemplation (sec. 1: N.B.A.E., i, pp. 120-1).

discussed at length.¹ And even then the subject is that of introversion and the various degrees of recollection : the four roads referred to are never, in fact, mapped out for the disciple anywhere in the book. The subject is taken up again at the beginning of the *Manual of Perfect Life*,² but again the author delays dealing with the "fourth supernatural state" until the very end of the fifth dialogue³—another example of the same apparent disinclination to map out in a clear fashion the stages of the mystical life.

The truth is that the interests of Fray Juan are largely those of the psychologist, and even within that category he inclines to reject all that is not wholly practical and experiential. Studying early and mediæval writers with an assiduity which can rarely have been surpassed in Spain, he finds that there is no agreement among them as to the stages by which Mount Carmel is ascended. Broad similarities there may be, and these, as will be seen, he recognizes, but uniformity of plan there is none. In all probability our author's own experiences coincided exactly with those of no one of his authorities : he therefore recognizes them all, but adheres closely to none. Assuming that to every aspirant who fulfils certain essential conditions—on which he repeatedly lays stress—is vouchsafed an experience which is his own and may be no one else's, he concentrates upon those forms of mystical activity which are common to all mystical experience : Introversion, Recollection, Quiet, Rapture, Communion with Nature, Contemplation and the like. In his counsels under these heads lies the abiding greatness of his work ; we shall consider each in detail, but first let us endeavour to gain some general idea of such conceptions as he held of the Mystic Way and its various stages.

We will first reproduce the passage just referred to, in which Juan de los Angeles, following various authorities, divides the Mystic Way into four stages :

¹ *Conquista*, dial. x, secs. 4-17 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 143-53).

² *Manual*, dial. i (N.B.A.E., i, p. 159).

³ *Manual*, dial. v, secs. 2, 9 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 225, 236).

Master : Thou must know that all the harmony of spiritual exercises and all the riches of the inward man consist in four points, which are these : “ In soaring with freedom through giving of thanks to the Majesty of God. In descending, through humility and abnegation of thine own will, till thou art beneath His hand. In opening thyself (*salir*) virtuously to all men with general love and well-ordered charity. In entering uniformly within thyself, forgetting all things, till thou dost reach the arms of thy Spouse and art united with Him.” . . .

Now since I desire that thou grow to love this sacred exercise, and no other . . . I must tell thee that to it is reduced all that is written in respect of prayer and contemplation. Upon it are founded the four paths (*vías*), the purgative, the illuminative, the amative and the unitive, whereof so many saints have composed copious and lengthy treatises, especially St. Dionysius, St. Bonaventura, Henry of Palma [*sic*], the Chancellor John Gerson, Richard and Hugo [of St. Victor] and many others. In the first of these stages the soul is raised. In the second it descends. In the third it communicates itself. In the fourth it recollects and imprisons itself within itself, and within the Kingdom of its God.¹

This threefold division of the mystic life (if we exclude the “ amative ” way as being not concerned only with the soul and God) is common, as we know, to most schematic descriptions of that life, and Fray Juan assumes it in most of what he has to say upon the subject. In various parts of his works, nevertheless, there are outlined what may be termed cross-divisions of the mystic way—some adapted from other writers, others apparently original. All bear some resemblance to the traditional plan, but their chief characteristic in common is that they can also be applied to the ordinary life of the Christian. One may be quoted, in which Fray Juan describes four manners of aspiration which he quaintly likens to four knockers on the door leading to “ the fruition of simple unity with God and in God.” They are as follows :

1. OFFERING.—“ Perfect abnegation and the despising of one’s self, together with the cutting off of all sensual delights, however small, whereby the heart may be defiled.” This done, the aspirant may pass to

¹ *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 121). Cf. *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 159 : “ Cuatro maneras de obrar en la vida espiritual ”).

2. PETITION.—“Before all things thou must beg for the Beloved alone (*desnudo*) that thou mayest enjoy Him only and alone in His immense and unsullied (*desnudo*) love. . . . Thou mayest also beg of God that He will enlighten thine understanding and give thee to know, first, His Divine will, and, . . . secondly, thyself.”

3. CONFORMITY.—“The faithful lover will labour ever to conform himself more and more with the Beloved.” He must cast all his passions and inclinations “into the boundless fire of the Divine love” and thereafter occupy himself only with desires and prayers to be more like Christ.

4. UNION.—Here man must “labour” that his will may be united with the Divine will. This is the “sixth degree of love, called fervent” (the reference is to another classification, which we need not describe).¹

Returning to the traditional threefold division of the Mystic Way, we may consider each stage in turn. Of the Purgative Way Fray Juan says nothing in definition that is not to be found elsewhere, and, as his practical counsels will be treated more fully later, they will not here be considered. The resignation or abnegation of the will forms the South Doorway to the Kingdom of God, for self-knowledge and self-discipline are the “foundation of truth.”² This abnegation, and the practices which result from it, correspond to purgation in the generally accepted sense. A special aspect of it is an “exercise of annihilation” described in the fifth dialogue of the *Manual of Perfect Life*.³ It consists briefly in the subject’s consideration of his own nothingness, from every point of view, and, following this, a complete loss of confidence in himself and a consequent total reliance upon God.

Remain thou in this consideration until thou come to feel an emptying (*vaciamiento*), that is, a true knowledge of the nothingness that thou art, and then wilt thou be enabled to know that

¹ *Manual*, dial. v, sec. 8 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 234-6).

² *Conquista*, dial. iii, sec. 10 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 70).

³ *Ed. cit.*, sec. 1, pp. 223-4.

thou hast attained to God, when thou findest naught whereupon thy thought may rest. O precious doctrine, let none hope without thee to receive spiritual enlightenment or consolation!¹

In spite of the rather sweeping assertion of the last sentence quoted, it would seem that this exercise in its fulness belongs to the higher stages of the life of purification. "Note thou," says Fray Juan, "that this annihilation is not for all, but for those that are very proficient." It is the "foundation" (*cimiento*), we read, of the higher stages.²

The Life of Illumination is described in the third dialogue of the *Conquest*, and this may be considered in some detail :

See that from all that thou seest or hearest or knowest thou extract (*sacar*) glory and praise for thy Lord God, and choose from all things that which is the best and of the greatest edification to thy soul, for in all things there is much that thou mayest so choose. And in this manner of life there is that which is called illuminative, which makes men to be wise with true wisdom ; for such men, in a blade of grass or a tiny bird, in the ant or in the elephant—indeed, in all creatures—contemplate God in His Essence and Power, as the common Creator and Preserver of them all. This is super-essential Good, more intimate with myself than am I, and nearer to all creatures than are they themselves. And if, as I tell thee, thou wouldst consider Him in them all, be they agreeable to thee or displeasing, then wouldst thou never lose the peace of thy soul ; for neither would the fire burn thee, nor would the mosquito make war on thee, nor would any other enemy persecute thee, if God were ever so little absent from them.³

This consciousness of the Presence of God in all things is frequently referred to by our author, and, according to his thought, would appear to be the chief mark of the Illuminative Life :

Open the eyes of thine understanding to the things which faith teaches thee ; the which faith will show thee how that God is all-powerful, Creator of all things, and in them all by His Essence, Presence and Power ; and that, consequently, He is in thee and

¹ *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 167).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Conquista*, dial. iii, sec. 11 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 71).

thou art in Him, more truly than the fishes are in the sea ; and that He is more ready to penetrate the soul than is the sunlight to enter the open door or window of a room—yea, through the tiniest chinks He enters. And if this be so, as it is, how great is my folly if I send my speculation far away in search of God, when I have Him so near ! As well might I travel to the Indies of Japan or China in search of the sunlight when here in Madrid I am surrounded by it and bathed in it : much should I weary myself, and at the end have no more light.¹

Following Dionysius,² Fray Juan writes at length of the “ fourth supernatural state or exercise,” which may be considered as an aspect of the Illuminative Life, and has been prepared for by the “ exercise of annihilation ” referred to above. The supernatural state in question is described as follows :

Master : Of all that comes to pass within this state, God holds the key. He it is that opens and that shuts whensoever and howsoever He wills. In this state the soul is prepared without the intervention of media (*medios*) to receive the gifts and favours of the Lord Most High. It is a state wherein it neither enquires nor reasons, but receives. . . . God grants to it a clear light in the eyes of the understanding, at the time when it pleases Him, so that the soul sees clearly things that by natural means it cannot know nor attain. . . .

Disciple : But tell me, what must the soul do when it is placed in this most noble state ?

Master : It must endeavour to learn to do naught, for those rivers and currents that flow from the great sea and ocean of the Divine goodness are arrested in their course by a very small degree of presumption and self-confidence, so that they return to their origin. . . . In these visitations of the Lord, that which beseems the soul is to be quiet and at rest, if so it may, after the manner of one that listens and hears, and not of one that questions or argues.³

From its intermittence, and the high degree of proficiency postulated of those that attain to it, it would

¹ *Manual*, dial. v, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 224).

² See here *Manual*, dial. v, sec. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 233).

³ *Manual*, dial. v, sec. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 225-6).

appear that this state has a place within the Illuminative Life : for the rest, it shares the characteristics of the Prayer of Quiet and the Spiritual Betrothal. We cannot, however, for lack of data, enquire too closely into either its geography or its history.

To the threefold division, Fray Juan de los Ángeles brings one element (more properly mystical than the "amative way") which can be considered an integral part of his teaching. This is that state of affliction which seems, according to many writers, to be an essential prelude to the state of Union, and which, following St. John of the Cross, we have referred to as the Dark Night of the Soul.

If there could be any doubt that Fray Juan considers the Dark Night of the Soul as a normal process in the mystic's evolution, it would be dispelled by one or two passages, chosen from the many that deal with it, which could not possibly be interpreted as referring to any other state of trial, such as the Purgative Way which precedes Illumination. In the fourth dialogue of the *Conquest* are described the three kinds of "cross" which spiritual persons have to bear : "One is that of the newly converted, another of those that are making progress, and the last is in the highest stage (*lo más florido*) of the spiritual life."¹ Of the third we read that it is "the bitterest of all that God gives to His friends . . . and this when, humanly speaking, they were about to enjoy the embraces of their Spouse. At times come temptations so dreadful and of such horror, such spasms (*aprietos*) and thick darkness of the understanding, that the wretched man, inwardly in constraint and anguish, all but despairing, knows not whither to turn his head nor hopes for aught but death, or, at the least, for madness."² In the *Triumphs* Fray Juan had already written of this experience, and at greater length, though parts of the chapter in question, if taken from their context, might seem to refer equally to an earlier stage in the mystic

¹ *Conquista*, dial. iv, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 76).

² *Ibid.* (*ed. cit.*, p. 78).

life.¹ The chapter may quite possibly, in part, be of general application, since the trial is termed "the bitterness which the soul feels in the absence of God." We will quote only the salient passages for our purpose :

God sets before them a dark, narrow and deserted path, devoid of all comforts ; and, leading them along it, takes from them, or conceals, all those gifts and favours that He had given them. Then He leaves them quite alone, and causes them to be able to find not a mark or trace of Himself. . . .

(The soul) examines its conscience, to see if its sins are the reason of this absence ; and it finds that neither in thought nor word nor work has it been remiss and so offended its Spouse ; consoling itself with this certitude, it neither rests nor ceases to seek Him Whom it has lost. The Beloved is there : it is He that works this restlessness and anguish in the soul. . . . But He hides Himself and feigns absence, though He is present, that the desire and love of the soul may grow, and He may be sought with greater eagerness, and with greater sweetness found. . . .

If it so pleases the Lord, He gives us here and there a flash of light in the darkness, to certify us that if we continue in His friendship He will reveal to us openly His glory. But again there rise within us such great storms of tribulations that they destroy our inward peace. . . . Hardly can we continue for a moment in one holy thought, so great is our instability and wretchedness. If ye return to God desiring to wait upon Him only, they seem to thrust you from His Presence in confusion and with disdain. If ye pray, the Heavens are of impenetrable brass, God has become deaf, and your Guardian Angel appears not. If ye read the sacred Scripture, ye take no more pleasure therein than as if ye were stone. The horror of hell affrights you not, the consideration of glory awakens you not, and the multitude of the benefits of God moves you not.

But let the soul humble itself at this time and surrender itself to the Divine Will, resigned and prepared to suffer this great

¹ See *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 331). But the careful language of a quotation like the following (from *Triunfos*, pt. i, chap. 16) preserves the same distinction as we find in St. John of the Cross :

Hay dos maneras de obscuridad y tinieblas en el contemplativo arrebatado : una inferior, que es actual conocimiento de las criaturas, que por entonces cesa, como se ha dicho ; otra superior y divina, a la cual entra el contemplativo en el rapto, que es ignorancia actual de Dios en cuanto a la visión objetiva, desnuda y abierta.

Cf. also *Conquista*, dial. ix, sec. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 137), a passage inspired by Ruysbroeck, at least in part.

calamity and wretchedness for so long as it may please the Lord ; with the security of the Presence of God more certainly than in all the consolations it has ever received, however great and extraordinary they may have been. . . . Happy is the soul afflicted thus who seeks not a path or way of escape from its trials, but continues therein until the will of the Creator be fulfilled, even though for many years it have to suffer the sorrows and torments of hell. . . .

Then at last the soul reaches a state which can neither be represented nor figured in terms of created things ; and it is deified, to such a degree that . . . although it is still a creature, it is completely of one form with God and made one with Him (*deiforme o endiosado*) and appears as though it were God. Consumed, then, with the fire of the Divine love, it dies to itself and to all things ; and thus dead and reduced to naught, to it are revealed and manifested the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, so far as in this mortal life may be.¹

Part of this chapter is admittedly inspired by Tauler, and there is a suggestion also of the influence of St. Bernard. But the vividness of the narrative and the homely illustrations used here and there show that the author is not merely quoting.

In the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* he gives another account of the Dark Night, but of this only a few lines need be quoted—enough, that is to say, to show that it is indebted to St. John of the Cross, whose description of the same state it follows very closely. There is no doubt at all, of course, that this account refers solely to the Dark Night of the Spirit, and in no sense to any lower stage in the soul's progress :

I would here warn the devout reader that before the fire of the Divine love enters and is united with the substance of the soul . . . its flames consume all the accidents of its imperfections, until it is prepared for the transformation whereof we have spoken. . . .

This severe purgation comes to few souls, and only to those whom the Lord desires to raise by contemplation to some lofty degree of union ; and the loftier the degree thereof, the severer is the purgation. . . .

¹ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 331-5). Cf. the similar description by St. John of the Cross (pp. 258-60, above) from which this is no doubt in part derived.

A spiritual monk and one most sublime in contemplation has said that this working of the Beloved is to be called "burn most sweet" and "delicious wound"¹; for, although the words "burn" and "sweet," "delicious" and "wound" appear to imply contradiction, if we look at what has been said we shall see that they agree with each other, not only as regards one person but as regards one and the same time.²

Fray Juan then proceeds to comment further on this phrase, following the commentary of St. John of the Cross himself.

Elsewhere, in words too often paralleled to make quotation necessary, he insists upon the necessity of detachment in every sense throughout the mystical life, adding that while, at the stage of which he is writing, the aspirant may allow himself a certain licit exercise of the imagination, he is not to forget that God is Spirit. "When thou attainest to the possession of God, without doubt thou shalt experience a complete deprivation of all images (*una desnudez desnuda de toda imagen*) which is no other thing than [the expression of] God Himself."³ On this element in the training of the mystic, Fray Juan lays frequent stress. Though the terrible *desnudez* of the Dark Night of the Soul is not always a continuous, and never an habitual state, the element of *desnudez*, in some form or other, is an essential part of every stage in the mystic's progress; the greater the progress the more complete does it become.

There are very many references to the Unitive Life in the works of Juan de los Angeles; as we should expect of him, however, they are mainly of a general and passing kind. That life is held up as a goal and its characteristics are briefly recounted, but it is not described as something attained, as it is, for example, in St. John of

¹ A quotation from the *Llama de amor viva* ("Living Flame of Love") of St. John of the Cross, who is referred to here:

¡ O cauterio suave !
¡ O regalada llaga !

² *Consideraciones*, lect. xi, art. 1 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 273-4).

³ This P. Torr6 (*Fray Juan de los Angeles*, ii, p. 237) calls "una palabra que es muy significativa," in which he is certainly right. Fr. Juan's actual words are "que no es otra cosa que el mismo Dios."

the Cross. The following passages may be taken as typical :

The intimacy of the soul is its simplest essence, stamped with the image of God. Certain of the saints have called it the "centre," others "intimacy," others the "apex of the spirit," others "mind." St. Augustine the Great and the most modern writers speak of it as the soul's "depth," because it is the most interior and secret place of all, where no images of created things may enter, but only (as has been said) that of the Creator only. The deepest hush and the deepest silence are here, for no form of created thing can reach this centre, and in respect of it we are godlike or divine—so like, indeed, to God Himself that wisdom calls us gods. This empty, void, and formless state of intimacy is raised above all created things, above all feelings and powers of the soul ; it transcends all time and place, and the soul remains in perpetual union and unity with God, Who is its beginning.¹

This union is called experimental or actual, because it consists in the experimental perception and tasting of that inward sweetness, comfort, delectation and joy, which proceeds from the union and conjunction of the soul with its supreme object, which is God.²

. . . This experimental union is a pregustation, or anticipated joy, of glory, or, as one might say, the foretaste thereof (*salva*)³ ; it is the pledge of eternal bliss, which has its beginning here below, and in our true native land is perfected by consummate grace. And although it is one, it has various names ; at times it is called "transformation," at others "perfect prayer," at others "mystical theology," at others "divine wisdom."⁴

The intimacy of Union is one, not of accidents, but of substance ; it is something closer than any who have not experienced it can imagine :

God, when He is united (*abrazado*) with the soul, penetrates it wholly, and enters even to its most secret recesses till He is made one with its inmost being, and becomes, as it were, soul of its soul

¹ From a passage in the *Conquista* (dial. i, sec. 3, N.B.A.E., i, p. 42), quoted in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey* (pp. 136-7) at some length. It appears at first as if this *intimo del alma* refers to simple introversion, but it soon becomes clear that it cannot be—or cannot be wholly—so. It is quite plainly described as "the highest state in the spiritual life."

² A quotation from Gerson follows here.

³ The *salva*, besides being a "volley" or "salute," was also applied to the tasting of the food of a monarch, for motives of caution, before he ate it.

⁴ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 10 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 340-1).

and spirit of its spirit. . . . The delights of the soul united with God are delights of such a manner that, from whatever aspect they are regarded, they outweigh all delights soever of the body ; for they are not mingled with necessity, nor diluted with sorrow, nor are given in part, nor are in any wise corrupted, nor arise from lesser favours, nor from feeble or weak embraces, nor are they base delights, nor lightly apprehended. Nay, this is divine and sovereign wealth, the deepest of joys, a happiness unsullied, a joy that fills all the soul. It is milk, whereon the soul feeds ; wine, that inebriates it ; oil, that sanctifies it and consecrates it wholly to God. It is the perfume of life, and the ineffable savour of gladness ; and if aught can be signified of that which it is, it may be found in the words of the Bride : “ Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth, for his breasts (that is, his love) are better than wine.” ¹

The garment is not so close to the body that wears it, nor does the girdle so straitly encircle the waist, nor are the head and the limbs so nearly united, nor are fathers so near of kin to their sons, nor is a bridegroom so joined to his bride, as is Christ in union with His own. . . .²

The delight enjoyed by the soul, in the embrace of God, and united to Him in love, cannot better be described than as a flood, as the Psalmist called it : “ Thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasures.” . . .³

Fire converts into itself the matter whereupon it works ; even so does Divine love, working upon the soul, convert it into itself ; and as different metals, when placed in the furnace, are melted through the operation of the fire and unite into one mass, even so do Christ and the soul, though diverse and distant the one from the other, melt in the fire of love, and are mingled and joined together in one spirit.⁴

¹ *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 5 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 82). This passage, as will be seen from p. 337, above, is practically copied from Luis de León. The plagiarism ceases after the words “ all the soul.” Variants, such as that in l. 4 of the quotation, are reflexions of the small differences in the texts. See, in this connexion, pp. 398-401, below.

² *Consideraciones*, lect. v, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 183-4). In this passage the reference is partly, as the context shows, to the union between Christ and the Church.

³ *Consideraciones*, chap. ii, lect. vi, art. 4 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 391). Cf. Ps. xxxv, 9 (Vulg.): “ Et torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos.” A.V. (Ps. xxxvi, 8) has “ river.” The remainder of this passage is almost identical with that of lect. i, art. 5 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 82).

⁴ *Consideraciones*, chap. ii, lect. xii, art. 2 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 494).

On transformation, he writes at some length to make clear to his disciple what is its nature.

St. Dionysius says that love has unitive and transformative virtue ; he means that it transforms the lover into the object of his love, even as the seal and stamp is transformed into the soft wax by the action of the heat of the sun or of a fire. In the which transformation, the seal is the active part, the wax is passive, and the fire dispositive. Even so he that loves suffers, He that is loved works, and love it is that disposes. I, if I love thee, am transformed in thee, and thou, if thou lovest me, art transformed in me : the which cannot come to pass unless love enters between us This is not a transformation of bodies, . . . but of wills, of minds, and of hearts. . . . Thus did love work in our father St. Francis, so that he was altogether a living portrait of Christ, in poverty, abasement, humility, charity and patience, and the other virtues.¹

In the *Spiritual Strife*, he writes of the “ transformation or death of the soul, which is the final triumph of love.” This he describes as being “ loftier than union,” which indeed “ unites two minds in one will and desire,” but “ transformation signifies the changing of one thing into another with betterment and advantage.”²

Happy, indeed, is the soul, happy beyond compare, which, in that kiss of God—when He, without means soever, unites it with Himself—is transformed and deified ; and, dying to itself, and to all that is not God, lives to God alone.³ . . . By virtue of ecstatic love, our soul is changed into God, remaining in its natural being, but taking new accidents, not fantastic, nor material, but deiform, when the Divine brightness sheds its rays upon it.⁴

It will be observed that Fray Juan has no fear of the term “ deification ” and of what it implies, but takes it over boldly from his predecessors, being careful, however, to explain it to his disciple :

Master : His Majesty would have us to be in accident men, and in substance gods, ruled by His Spirit, and conformed to His

¹ *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 100).

² *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 14 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 353).

³ A discussion of the differences between transfiguration, transubstantiation, and transformation follows. The next lines will be seen to relate to that discussion.

⁴ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 14 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 353).

Will ; and this is impeded by every creature which we love with disordered affection. . . .

Disciple : Thou seemest to mean that the righteous are no longer men, but have become gods in essence, even as bread, by virtue of the words of consecration, is no longer bread but the Body of Christ.

Master : I say not so, because I speak ever of the transformations of love, the which are all as touching the accidents ; for when I love God I cease not to be that which I am according to essence, but as touching the accidents. I say that the soul transformed in God through love lives more for God than for itself ; for it desires and follows no longer that which the outer man craves, but that which God ordains. And as the soul lives rather where it loves than where it breathes, it follows that it belongs rather to the object of its love than to itself. And in this sense it may be said that the righteous are men in their accidents and gods in substance, since they live and are governed by the Divine Spirit of God : even as the iron that is red-hot remains iron although it be invested with the qualities of fire, appearing to be fire rather than iron in its essence, although in truth it is only so by participation, in the way wherein the righteous are gods.¹

He recognizes too a state of life " hid with Christ in God " which is reached by the road of self-denial and devotion, and this he also terms " deification." " The soul that travels along this road attains to union and transformation in God, and with God, which is called ' deification,' and this is not mystical . . . but all are capable thereof, and may attain to it with ease in that which concerns the understanding, but not without many crosses and trials of the will." ² Had every mystical writer defined his boldest terms so explicitly, there would be less mistaken criticism of the mystic to-day than there is.

Occasionally it is difficult to know if Fray Juan is referring to the Unitive Life or to the Illuminative, as in the passage where he comments the text " Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." ³ Here he writes

¹ *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 46-7).

² *Manual*, dial. vi (N.B.A.E., i, p. 262).

³ *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 61 ff.).

of the "kiss of the Spouse," on the one hand, as of the mystic's highest aim, and yet, on the other, as of something of brief duration, and recurring repeatedly, which the Unitive Life does not.¹ As he works out his exposition, however, it becomes clear that the "kiss of the Spouse" does refer to the life of Union: Fray Juan is following St. Bernard who, in his exposition of the same text, makes the kissing of the Feet, the Hand and the Mouth of Christ represent the three traditional stages of mysticism respectively.² The kiss of the Mouth is a "transformation and permutation of the soul":

In that Divine contact, when the Spouse most pure kisses His most pure Bride, she dies to herself and He alone remains living within her, and of their lives is there made exchange and mutual gift, yea and of all things else. O sovereign permutation! O most righteous desire of the soul! ³

IV

Much use is made by Fray Juan of the word "introversion" when speaking of the processes by which the mystic advances towards perfection. In the tenth dialogue of the *Conquest* the word is explained in such detail that he who runs may read. First it is defined etymologically and, this attempt meeting only with the disciple's comment that he understands it less than before, the instructor enlarges his definition by contrasting the extroversions, or *salidas*, which the aspirant must make towards his neighbours for love of them, with the introversions or *uniformes entradas* "into the intimate and secret places of the soul wherein a man may hold converse alone with God."⁴ Extroversion, demanded by charity, is as necessary as the reverse process; the important thing (here Fray Juan is following Ruysbroeck) is that the aspirant should ever be master of himself and "enter into himself freely when he will."⁵

¹ *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 3 (*ed. cit.*, p. 68).

² *Sermons on the Song of Songs*. See Butler, *Western Mysticism*, London, 1922, p. 139.

³ *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 68).

⁴ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 143).

⁵ *Ibid.*

Fray Juan distinguishes three grades of "the prayer which the saints term that of recollection."¹ In the first there is complete mortification of the thought ; the soul is still, and, as it were, asleep, so that any thought that would enter is hindered from so doing ; the soul thus recollected enjoys no great favours, but, recognizing the Hand of God, is in security and peace.² In the second grade the intellect plays its part, and the subject gives attention and effort to whatever he is doing ; this recollection is accompanied by many favours, and sometimes by temporary physical unconsciousness.³ The third grade is quite distinct from these : "the soul is within the body as it were in a box tightly enclosed, and there it knows a secret joy in the spiritual ardour which it feels. Having cast the five senses aside, it is as though it had them not ; and it comprehends naught that can be uttered, but like a little child has joy within the breast."⁴

No more is made of the distinction between these three degrees, but a good deal follows concerning the "prayer of recollection" as a whole. Much counsel is given to the disciple. He learns to keep silence when he desires to be recollected ; is warned how to recognize the approach of God to his soul⁵ ; and is urged to press forward towards God, never once relaxing his efforts, even if no good seems to result.⁶ Two short passages from this exposition may usefully be quoted, the first for its psychological value, the second for its obvious references to St. Teresa :

¹ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 144).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 144). The whole of this passage follows very closely Osuna's *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual* (N.B.A.E., p. 571), especially in the final lines quoted, which are practically copied word for word (see p. 107, above).

⁵ Fray Juan even goes so far as to say (*Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 12, N.B.A.E., i, p. 149) when asked (*i.e.* by Deseoso) if to be recollected is the same as to be in the presence of God :

"I find no difference at all between the recollection wherein I have instructed thee and the state of a soul that is attentive to God, giving ear to His Divine Voice and secret inspiration ; and if such difference there be, it is in men themselves, and not in the substance of the exercise."

⁶ *Conquista*, dial. x, secs. 7-10 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 145-7).

Disciple : In these degrees of recollection, is a man completely deprived of his understanding ?

Master : Nay, my son, for there ever remains a tiny spark, sufficient to apprise the soul that something works within her, and that this is of God. But there is silence and quietness in the understanding, and . . . the soul would gladly die altogether in the Lord and for His sake be completely overwhelmed. At times it comes to pass that the understanding ceases entirely, as though the soul had none ; but it discovers again the living spark of simple intelligence or sensible knowledge. In that very cessation of the understanding is it that the soul receives the most grace ; and when it revives and she finds it again within her, then she wonders, knowing not whence or how it came ; and eager for more, she would fain be mortified once again and understand naught ; so, even as one plunges into the water and issues therefrom with the desired prize in one's hands,¹ even thus does the soul imprison herself within her own being, and plunge into the Being of God, whence she is wont to issue filled with spiritual riches.² The hours are forgotten, in this state, as though they were moments : no heaviness is felt, nor weariness soever. But look to thyself, Brother Deseoso, if God call thee to this estate, for often-times without thy knowledge that which is on fire within thy heart will vanish and be gone, and again thou wilt have need to recollect thyself in the depths of thy soul.³ A great thing is it to have fruition of God in secret, and, as it were, darkly, for, as we know, He is a Lover of solitude and in the darkness He makes His abode.⁴

This prayer is called the prayer of recollection because in it the soul is most readily recollected, and most quickly is taught of God and most rapidly comes to the enjoyment of quietness. He who after this manner can shut himself within the little heaven of his heart, wherein dwells He that created the heavens and the earth, and who accustoms himself neither to look nor to be where

¹ Almost the same phrases occur in Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual*, trat. xxi, cap. 7 (N.B.A.E., pp. 571-2). I have no doubt whatever that the later is copied from the earlier. Those who will compare the two passages either in the translations (see p. 107, above) or, better still, in the original Spanish, will see that the similarities are quite convincing.

² Cf. the metaphor of *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 46) : " When the senses are hushed and silent the pure spirit flies to its Creator, and suffers thereupon the operation of the Holy Spirit, Who works great wonders in the soul that is thus empty and free."

³ See pp. 157, 173, above.

⁴ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 144-5).

his outward senses may be distracted, let him believe that he is upon the right road and very soon will come to drink of that fountain of life which quenches in us the thirst for all things wherein God dwells not. For this is a profitable road, and as a journey by sea before the wind. Recollection is like a strong castle of the soul, wherein the soul shuts itself that it may not have to fear its enemies, and, recollecting all its senses, withdraws them from outward things. . . .

Well did I understand, says a religious and spiritual woman, before ever I saw the object of recollection, that I had a soul, but that which my soul merited and Who was within it I understood not ; for I blinded my eyes with the vanities of this present life. And I think, if I had understood, as now I understand, that within this tiny kingdom of my heart so great a King may dwell, then had I not left Him so often alone, but had remained some time with Him and had had care that the dwelling was swept and garnished.¹

Elsewhere in the *Conquest*, whence these quotations are taken, we may find further description of what in one place are curiously termed "introversions or interior conversations (*hablas*) of the soul with God, *which some have called the prayer of recollection.*"² Too much, however, must not be made of this definition, since it is that of the disciple in soliloquy. The description of the "prayer of recollection" runs on lines roughly parallel to the foregoing. Solitude is essential ; silence is equally so ; the aspirant is too apt to mistake his own voice for the voice of God. As to the nature of this silence, let the master speak for himself³ :

Disciple : So then it is of great importance to be silent in this prayer, and to give place to God, that He may speak ?

Master : It is the whole matter ; but the best part still remains to be said concerning this silence, for the quieting of the soul is not the final disposition whereby it is carried away in God, since many are silent, and listen, yet soar not to Him.

Disciple : What then is this silence ?

Master : When all things are quiet within a man, and sleep, and the pure spirit alone keeps vigil and is attentive to God ; when there is no sound soever within the soul, because all the

¹ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 10 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 147).

² *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 97).

³ *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 127).

senses and the powers of the soul keep straitest silence. . . . And this is followed by rapture (*raptō*),¹ to which the Saints gave the name also of "death of a kiss," because it comes to pass by virtue of the gentlest contact between God and the soul in the higher part of the soul. O sleep so sweet and so greatly desired, wherein the soul has a foretaste of its bliss, and makes trial of the graciousness of the Lord !²

This assumption of physical unconsciousness either complete or present in some large degree, as an accompaniment of, or sequel to, the prayer of recollection, is a distinctive feature of Juan de los Angeles' exposition, and will be considered shortly in connexion with his treatment of the supernatural element of mysticism. It is quite clearly made : God commands all the senses and faculties to be still—"the eyes to see not, the ears to hear not, the understanding to reflect not, the reason to reason not, the imagination to cease." Only the "affective door" is to be open ; as soon as understanding or reason begins to work again the happy "dream" is over.³

The learner is not to suppose that absence of thought is the whole of recollection,⁴ nor even that it is a necessary part of it. But there is no thought in the recollection of the proficient :

True it is that beginners therein are counselled to still their thoughts, and present themselves, free of all imaginings, to God,

¹ Another edition reads "ecstasy" (*éxtasis*). But cf. St. Teresa's *Book of her Life*, chap. xx (*ed. cit.*, vol. i, p. 145).

² "Se gusta cuán suave es el Señor." An evident reference to Ps. xxxiv, 8.

³ *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 128). A quotation is made here from Bernardino de Laredo (see *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 16-17) : "a religious of our order and of the province of Los Angeles" who concerning this state "was wont to repeat very often this phrase" :

¡ Quién *me diese* (better, *supiese*) navegar,
y engolfado no remar !

[O that it might be given me to have skill as an oarsman, and yet never to use my oars when I am overwhelmed !]

Fray Juan expounds this couplet and at the same time points out the degree to which only it is capable of application.

⁴ "Es disparate grande decir que el recogimiento consiste en no pensar nada." "For were this its perfection," goes on the passage, "they that sleep and dream not would be perfect, and they that are in a swoon, and children who by reason of their tender years have not understanding" (*Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 16, N.B.A.E., i, p. 151).

that His Majesty may speak to their hearts. . . . The banishment of distracting thoughts is necessary indeed to perfect recollection. But of cessation from thought in those that are proficient I say nothing, for much thereof has been said already. These have the memory so still and quiet, and the understanding so completely hushed that, being with God and rejoicing in His grace, they have no thought of their state nor of aught else soever.

“All the essence of mystical theology” is in the silencing of the understanding that the will may have free play, for this is the manner in which the soul is united with God by no other means save love.¹

Something must be said at this place of the teaching of Fray Juan upon the Divine Dark, though a few words will suffice, because he takes it all admittedly from “Saint Dionysius,” and also because it does not enter markedly into the body of his general teaching. The tenth and eleventh chapters of the first part of the *Strife* are largely an abstract of passages from Dionysius, with additions from St. Augustine and St. Bonaventura. In the eleventh chapter² the Divine Dark is described. Unlike the description of the Dark Night of the Soul, this description has nothing individual in it. The Spanish author is writing from his book. He expounds it well, and makes his chief points clearly, but in no way enlarges upon them. He distinguishes the darkness which results from a negation of understanding from that “superior and divine” mist or darkness which is bound up with rapture, and is in reality the effect of the beating of the Divine light upon the soul. Of each kind he treats, but principally of the second, to which “the enamoured spirit flies.”³ There is no possibility that any careful reader of this chapter could mistake the Divine Dark for the Dark Night of the Soul, with Fray Juan’s account of which we have already dealt.⁴ In this respect he is as clear as St. John of the Cross.

¹ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 16 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 152).

² N.B.A.E., i, pp. 303-5.

³ Cf. p. 381, n. 3, below.

⁴ See pp. 365-8, above.

V

Juan de los Ángeles has more to say than have most of his contemporaries on the subject of the physical phenomena of mysticism, though he has small love for that aspect of his subject. The disciple enquires if recollection is a supernatural gift, and is at once undeceived : it is, by God's grace, attainable by any who will prepare themselves to receive it. " If thou enter within thyself many times in the day, thou wilt ever return from this exercise with profit, and in a brief space wilt attain to recollection." There is also, he says, " a supernatural recollection, whereof certain saints have treated." Of this he will say nothing : let his disciple consult those who know more of it than does he himself.¹ So the subject, in this place, drops.

Elsewhere he speaks of it very fully—partly, as we have seen, in treating of the supernatural favours of the higher states of prayer, and partly in describing " true rapture."² Perhaps he is more anxious, however, in this particular connexion, to expose the false than to expound the true ; so, at least, the insistence with which he writes of the false would lead one to suppose.

We have already referred to the exceptionally large number of impostors in Spain who in the second half of the sixteenth century spread tales of the supernatural favours which they asserted they had received. As a practical man, a preacher and director of experience, it is clear that Fray Juan must have come into contact with such persons, from the many warnings which he gives upon the subject.³ Some manifestations which pass for

¹ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 12 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 148-9).

² In *Lucha*, pt. ii, chaps. 4, 14-16, and here and there in *Consideraciones*, he discusses in detail the psychological basis of rapture. These passages are ably summarized by P. Torró (*Fray Juan de los Angeles*, vol. ii, pp. 159 ff.: " Psicología del éxtasis "): I pass over them lightly partly because they are not particularly striking, and partly in order to concentrate on what, to Fray Juan as to his readers, was a more urgent matter.

³ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 97) : " In our own times numerous transformations have been seen which have caused the whole world to marvel greatly, and would have continued to do so for long years had not their falsity been quickly made apparent." The disciple answers : " I know

merits are really weaknesses, not to be praised but to be condemned.¹ "Cries and groans," "swoons which some call raptures, but which we see in persons of feeble health, as women," "contortions of the body," "grimaces that do violence to nature," "bleeding at the nose and eyes and mouth"—these are to be distinguished clearly from signs of true spiritual rapture. Ecstasies, too, that happen in public, before audiences, whether great or small, are for that reason to be suspected.² Some persons pass easily into what looks like ecstasy, by virtue of a vivid imagination or an emotional temperament, but they are not therefore enraptured. "There are those," remarks Deseoso, "who swoon when they but think upon the Passion of the Lord." "There are also those," returns his instructor, "who swoon when they see a person bled."³

"How, then," enquires the disciple, "may true rapture be known?"

When a man is found in a swoon so deep that he feels and hears nothing of the heavenly mysteries, this is the work of sensuality, or of the senses, and must be called neither ecstasy nor rapture (*rapto ni elevación*), but rather suffocation or deprivation of the senses both inward and outward. In true rapture (*arrobó*) the soul understands and works as it may, receiving light, warmth and intelligence. And there is yet another sign whereby a false rapture (*arrobó*) may be discerned and known—namely, in that, as the movements of the body begin, the spiritual vision begins to disappear and fade away, until the contemplative is completely dry. . . .

Disciple: More light yet would I have to comprehend this well whom thou meanest thereby, but since thou mentionest no name thou must desire not to speak openly in this case." Again Fray Juan mentions a "lying prophet who scandalized me greatly and whose fall I foretold before it came to pass." Again he says: "Ah, how many things have I seen during my life in the world! Let confessors and spiritual fathers call to mind the incidents of the *alumbrados* of Extremadura . . ." (*Manual*, dial. i, sec. 4, N.B.A.E., i, p. 164. Cf. *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 4, N.B.A.E., i, p. 99). These *alumbrados* are also referred to in a passage quoted on p. 385, n. 3, below. It will be remembered that St. Teresa was greatly exercised throughout her spiritual life by such deceptions (see, e.g., *Vida*, chap. xxiii).

¹ *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 8 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 170).

² *Manual*, dial. iii, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 195; cf. also pp. 170 ff.).

³ *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 9 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 171).

instruction whereby I may distinguish the spiritual from the sensual.

Master : Thou canst know them by their effects : in the one there is inflammation of the body, heart, breasts and temples, with but small intellectual enlightenment ; it begins indeed with a fire (*lumbre*), which is felt in the spirit ; but when it gives place to sensuality the parts of the body become inflamed, and the spiritual feelings grow dry and cold and lose their virtue till they are destroyed and cease. . . . But spiritual men are first truly enlightened in the understanding, which ever grows with a widening and an increase of the spiritual vision wherewith they begin.¹

In another place Fray Juan writes at great length of true rapture, which he describes as the " first and chiefest property of love," and divides into three classes : " of the imagination, of the reason, and of the (whole) mind."² The last only of these concerns him, since the other experiences are but partial ; he describes it as working " after two manners : according to the cognitive power of the soul, or according to the affective." The second manner of working explains why unlearned and simple persons may experience rapture as well as those with much learning. This rapture of the whole mind according to the affective power is by far the greatest of all, since it entirely suspends the operations of the inferior powers for so long as it lasts.³ " According to the cognitive power the soul is seen to be enraptured when it is borne and set above its natural and proper knowledge, apprehending things that are super-sensual and above the human reason." This is evidently less important than the direct working of love when it " draws and carries away the heart and the affections to that place whither they are inclined."⁴

¹ *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 8 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 170-1).

² *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 16 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 360-1). Cf. pp. 193 ff., above.

³ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 16 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 361-2). " It is also called division of the soul and spirit," adds Fray Juan, " again, entry into the divine darkness ; again, ecstasy ; again, a carrying away, sleep, silence, and being in the spirit and out of the spirit."

⁴ In his treatise on the *Song of Songs* (lect. ii, art. 2, N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 114-18), from which place the above extracts are taken, Fray Juan deals at greater length with the question of the two manners of working, but as his treatment is admittedly not original it seems unnecessary to reproduce it in detail.

Readers of the chapters from which these extracts are made will remark how completely the physical aspects of rapture are ignored in them, as though they hardly existed. This is a significant mark of our author's spirituality. With hardly an exception, whenever he discusses purely physical phenomena, he proceeds to warn his readers against being deceived by them and against coveting them for themselves.

A consideration of the stigmata of St. Francis, for example, leads him to write of bodily stigmatization, true and false, in other persons—of pretended "wounds, marks of lashes, and of crowns of thorns, and figures of Christ upon the breast." The disciple has attached over-much importance to the outward manifestation of Christ's wounds in St. Francis, and over-little to its inward meaning. "For many years," he says, "have I meditated upon the Passion and Death of Christ and I have neither wounds nor transformation—yea, often I have as little devotion as if the Passion and Death had been only of a man and had naught to do with me." The Master, in reply, makes no attempt to explain to him the reason, but merely cites case after case where bodily signs were in reality the work of the devil, and the subjects were either deceivers or deceived.¹

Another case of deception, he says, is in those who claim to be prophets inspired. The worst offenders here were evidently women, to whom the disciple is warned to give small credence.² The author himself "knew of a woman, apparently spiritual, who tried to persuade her confessor (he is still living) that he was to be elected Pope in the room of Sixtus V of happy memory : she urged in support of her prophecy that she had thrice heard voices from Heaven assuring her of it, but he gave no heed to her." Many other such cases could be cited, and a number, at first- or second-hand, Fray Juan does give. The natural question arises as to how God's

¹ *Conquista*, dial. vi, *passim* (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 97-105).

² *Conquista*, dial. vi, secs. 1-2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 98). It is to be feared that Fray Juan had considerable distrust of women in general : see, for example, his *Manual of Perfect Life*, dial. i, where he adds to precept (sec. 3) his own experience (sec. 4), and dial. iv, sec. 6, of the same work.

revelations may be distinguished from the devil's : the Master replies that only the Holy Spirit can infallibly discern them, and the safest course is often to ignore such things altogether, false or true.¹ But it is interesting to notice that Fray Juan looks at once with suspicion upon manifestations that are startling or sudden. "God in His working is like Nature, that proceeds from lesser to greater, and takes into account individuality and age. . . . The devil proceeds in contrary wise, keeping no order or moderation, giving to those whom he deceives sudden fervours . . . making them prophets and miracle-mongers . . . and amazing all thereby."²

The more Fray Juan insists upon this—and it is a favourite theme of his, which he upholds by quotations from various writers—the more will the average modern reader sympathize with his position. He has some telling phrases of his own, too, which he uses with effect. "The Holy Spirit is an Artificer of moderation and tranquillity," "The Spirit of God is the enemy of ostentation, and the friend of seclusion and solitude."³ And such maxims may be applied to the holiness of daily life, as well as to the more restricted sphere of rapture and ecstasy :

O, how great a good is moderation in speech ! God deliver me from ecstatic talk upon devout and spiritual matters ; from turning up the whites of the eyes and fixing them rapturously upon the heavens ; from deep and tender sighs, and even from words like "O good Jesus !" "Ah, my Love !" "Ah, Lord of my life !" From all such shouldst thou abstain, and from excess of outward humility ; and from all that may cause thee to be marked out and appear singular among others.⁴

Through all this discussion it is not hard to see that Fray Juan, like most of the great Spanish mystics of the Golden Age, set little real store by physical phenomena even when genuine. Not only must those so favoured

¹ *Conquista*, dial. vi, *passim*. See also, for further counsels, *Manual*, dial. iii, secs. 2, 3.

² *Manual*, dial. iii, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 194-5).

³ *Manual*, dial. iii, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 195).

⁴ *Manual*, dial. iii, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 196).

not be considered "holier or worthier than others who simply serve God," but they must be regarded with misgiving, even with fear, so perilous is the road along which they walk.¹

VI

Were we studying Fray Juan without reference to his contemporaries, much might now be said of his more general teaching, which reveals, not merely devotion and erudition, but shrewdness and commonsense. To give even an outline of his numerous themes, however, would be to obscure his main ideas and to repeat so much of what has already been said that we will do no more than indicate lines which readers of his works may pursue. The stress which he lays upon humility² is paralleled by his fellow-Franciscan, Osuna,³ and the complement of virtues which the would-be mystic must possess⁴ might also be equally well learned from the one or from the other. He has much advice to give upon the external conditions which are most favourable to contemplation.⁵ Its nature he defines repeatedly,⁶ distinguishing clearly between thought, meditation and contemplation,⁷ and showing that each has its place in the economy of the mystical life. He writes also of the preparation of the "faculties," especially of the understanding⁸ and the will.⁹ Both must be "free," above all the will, which is the "mistress" of the other powers in contemplation, and

¹ *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 98).

² Among the principal instances are *Conquista*, dial. iii, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 64); dial. iv, sec. 6 (p. 80); dial. viii, sec. 3 (p. 123); dial. viii, sec. 6 (p. 127); dial. ix, sec. 1 (p. 130). Cf. Torr6, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 105 ff.

³ See p. 90, and cf. pp. 166-7, above.

⁴ See *Conquista*, dial. ii, sec. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 52); dial. iv, secs. 7 ff. (pp. 81 ff.); dial. ix, sec. 3 (p. 133); dial. ix, sec. 6 (p. 135).

⁵ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 125).

⁶ E.g. *Consideraciones*, chap. ii, lect. vii, art. 1; lect. viii, art. 1 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 395, 409).

⁷ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 5; dial. ix, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 126, 136-7).

⁸ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. ix, secs. 1, 6, 7 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 130, 137); *Manual*, dial. iv, sec. 5 (pp. 215-7).

⁹ E.g. *Manual*, dial. iv, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 217); *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 13 (pp. 307-9).

the power "that asks for and receives the sweetest kiss of God." The understanding must strip itself of "fantasies and images of created things"; the will, of all sin, desire for sin and occasion of sin.¹ The passages in which these ideas are elaborated are taken very largely from Gerson and Ruysbroeck, but there is much in them which comes from our author's own observation and thought.

Reminiscent of St. Teresa are the many passages in which the reader is warned against placing overmuch reliance in what he "feels,"² and making too much of the experiences comprehensively alluded to as "spiritual sweetness," which the devil is wont to send to those who are apt to mistake it for grace of a more enduring kind.³ One extract in this connexion, characteristic though not profound, we may permit ourselves to translate :

Thou wilt find some that say mysteriously, as though none should understand them, that music is a heavenly thing and uplifts the spirit ; and that, when they hear it, they experience (so it seems to them) feelings most spiritual. But the truth is that all this is no more than sensuality, wherein they feel this manner of joy, devotion or pleasure. And this is clear and evident, because the same effects are caused in those that know not what is meant by "spirit," nor have aught to do therewith. Quite other are the effects of music upon true contemplatives, who, when they hear the music of the organ or of other instruments, put from them the pleasure, outward and physical, which is caused by the sounds, and pass to the contemplation of interior matters, and to the

¹ *Conquista*, dial. ix, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 130-1).

² *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 49).

³ See *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 161) ; *Consideraciones*, lect. i, arts. 3, 6 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 62, 100 ff.). Also *Conquista*, dial. iv, sec. 9 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 83) : "D. : God will have us know, too, that true holiness and perfect charity consist not in sensible grace or in tender love and devotion. M. : Thou sayest rightly, for such tenderness and sweetness may proceed from nature purely and alone, and Divine grace may have no part therein. Even so has been our experience in recent years . . . in the *alumbrados* of Extremadura, and their disciples, who were ever in rapture, and had such experience of consolations (*gustos*) that their strength and bodily powers failed them, and their limbs were oftentimes completely numbed, and rigid, and useless, and deprived of feeling. For my own part I hold that these things were not the work of nature only, but that the devil had a part therein also." Cf. with this pp. 379-80, above.

spirituality which corresponds with the harmonic accords that strike the ear.¹

Many other interesting themes connected with this important subject are treated here and there in the dialogues and expositions of Fray Juan de los Angeles. They show how keenly alive he was to the defects of religious people. Too much talking, for example, is indulged in, in the name of religion, and too little silence. How many *soi-disant* spiritual persons are "laden with devotions"—"penitential psalms, offices of the Most Holy Sacrament, of Our Lady, or of the departed, litanies, stations, commemorations of saints, offices of the Cross and the Holy Spirit, rosaries, and the like." They are occupied with such devotions all the day long, but cannot spend half an hour meditating upon God.² No more than St. Ignatius would Fray Juan counsel the neglect of the externals of religion, but he knew that to those for whom he was writing the greatest danger was not in neglect but in abuse.

Definitely and decisively, he is to be placed against those who would reject the works of God in Nature as subjects for contemplation. It is true that he says much of detachment, and urges his disciple to "flee from the creatures," letting no created thing intervene between his soul and God.³ It is equally true that the mystic, in Fray Juan's thought, will ere long reach a point where images are no more. But this does not mean that the aspirant must cast aside the created world, first and last, as a means whereby God may be apprehended: he must only shun it throughout as the end and object in itself of his contemplation.

A few short extracts from the *Manual of Perfect Life* will make clear Fray Juan's position:

Master: . . . I beg thee, and those that will profit by my labours, to think often-times upon the benefits of God, and

¹ *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 161). A personal experience of Francisco de Osuna's, which it is interesting to compare with this passage, will be found in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 74-5.

² *Manual*, dial. ii, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 185).

³ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. ix, secs. 5-6 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 134-7).

scrutinize each thing for its own sake, and consider the obligation which God has laid upon us concerning all that He created, since all such things are for the service of man and for man He created them . . . the light of the sun, moon and stars, the birds, fishes, plants, and animals, the savours, perfumes, and colours which delight the senses, and so forth.

Disciple : I am amazed . . . that thou wilt have me occupy myself in meditating upon a newt or an ant or a violet or the tiny fish or reptiles of sea and land. It is clear that the mind which is intent upon many things must diminish in effectiveness, and the more are the objects of its thought, the more it loses ; so that if a man's thought be set upon the creatures, its consideration of the Creator will be impaired.

Master : Thy difficulty is real and arises opportunely. Not only are we impeded in thinking upon God if we occupy ourselves with creatures, but I will even say that all the ills that are in the world have entered it because men have turned from enquiry concerning the Sovereign and Everlasting Good to that of outward and external things. . . . But know that my intent is not to turn thee from God to the creatures, nor have I ever taught such doctrine ; but I say that through the creatures we should make search and enquiry concerning the Creator. . . . I use the creatures as instruments and means whereby we may find God.¹

What thing is there, how small soever and vile, that shows not forth the infinite power of God, His wisdom and His goodness ? Perplex not thyself either little or much concerning the bodily form of the creatures . . . but pass immediately to contemplate the presence of the Lord, Who gives to the thing that thou seest its being ; and if thou dost feel His presence, extend thy thought and consider the omnipotence in that which is shown thee therein ; and then consider more intimately the love which therein and in all the creatures God has and manifests to us. . . .

From this manner of meditation upon the works of God . . . thou wilt draw four principles necessary to the attainment of perfection. The first is, that thou wilt habituate thine understanding to free itself from corporeal imaginings, which are as fetters to spiritual advancement, giving no occasion of soaring to God. The second, that thou wilt discover the spirituality that is in each one of the things that God created. . . . The third, a direct and rightly ordered manner of love toward God, for there is naught that more quickly and strongly binds the heart in love than the

¹ *Manual*, dial. i, sec. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 168-9).

receiving of benefits. . . . The fourth is that true confidence, the which is born of love alone, whence comes the desire to do good works and perfectly to perform the will of God in all things.¹

He himself, though there are no signs of his having been a keen observer of Nature,² seems to have taken some interest in the manifold life of the countryside. He sees in every creature, however small, an example of God's care. Plants, shoots and buds are watered, protected and fed by Him ; to lambs are given the care of the shepherd ; tiny calves are protected by their mothers from danger ; even chickens, and smaller birds, are never left without the covering feathers and the encircling nest.³ These are trite enough reflections, yet capable of exciting much devotion. What is more important is Fray Juan de los Angeles' feeling for the country and its life :

And I think the finer feelings of love belong not to the cities, but to the fields. The best talk is made in cities, but the sentiments are better awakened in the fields. In cities there is artifice and deceit ; in the country, simplicity and truth.⁴

Very practical, experienced and active is Fray Juan de los Angeles : the reverse of the dreamer : like most of his fellow-mystics, well aware of the realities of life. Not in vain did he live in the days of Spain's greatness—of adventure, conquest, battle, discovery, renown. These things are reflected in his work. The mystic's progress is to him "strife" and "conquest." Here and there, as in the eighth Dialogue of the *Conquest*, are passages which, taken alone, are possibly suggestive of Molinos :

Note thou that the necessary conditions for perfect prayer and union with God are contained within this brief sentence : The

¹ *Manual*, dial. ii, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 176. Cf. also p. 178, on the same theme).

² He writes, for example, of the care of the lioness for her whelps, together with that of the cow for her calves and the bird for her young (*Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 6, N.B.A.E., ii, p. 107), which does not suggest personal observation. Nor would one suppose that he had seen the eagle preying upon the stag, which he describes in *Conquista*, dial. vii, sec. 10. But for all that he makes a very striking illustration from the scene.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Consideraciones*, lect. v, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 182). Cf. p. 311, n. 2.

solitary must sink down and be still, and soar above himself. The first thing is to sink down ; the second, to be in solitude ; the third, silence ; and the fourth, elevation or rapture.¹

But that is only one side of the picture. There is the strife to expel sin, to conquer the eleven fierce foes, to wrestle with the angel. Only after this, and at break of day, comes true rest.² In the prologue to the *Triumphs*, as befits the opening of so splendidly entitled a book, is found Fray Juan's truest description of the mystic's life :

In reality and truth, it is a duel and a strife of love, in the which God strives with the soul, and the soul with God. And each in turn wounds the other in this strife, imprisons him, makes him to be sick, to faint and to die. Then the soul melts, is inebriated, comes out from itself, is transformed in God, and becomes with Him one thing.³

In other places where a quietistic interpretation might be found by those who seek it,⁴ we discover on examination that reference is made to a state lasting but a short space of time, and issuing in a life which, if mainly receptive, is also in another sense "a rest most busy."⁵ "These two things are in themselves contrary," he says in the *Considerations*, "but both are holy, and may be found together in the same subject : the senses are at rest, and the soul, according to its affective power, is most busy, and wholly 'actuated,' as the contemplatives say, in God."⁶

Who can say that Fray Juan despises the active life ? In his mind it is the complement of the life of contemplation : the latter must help the former.

Let all actives believe me that if Mary ⁷ aid them not, whatever their early fervour, they will grow weary and fail in the tasks that they begin, and even fall into many troubles. I reprove not those,

¹ *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 125).

² *Conquista*, dial. ii, sec. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 52).

³ N.B.A.E., i, p. 10.

⁴ E.g. the description of the "exercise of annihilation" in the *Manual*, dial. v.

⁵ The phrase is almost exactly Fray Juan's "ociosidad y ocupación," "ociosos ocupados."

⁶ *Consideraciones*, lect. iv, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 168).

⁷ Not Our Lady here, but Mary the sister of Martha, who chose the better part (*i.e.* the contemplative life).

my son, that occupy themselves in visiting the sick, harbouring the poor, converting lost women and attending to the health of the souls of their neighbours. Only I can tell them, that if Mary fail them, all their work will come to naught.¹

There must be a time for contemplation in every life, and a time for the active work of men who are called to be Christ's servants. "All must not be contemplation, nor must all be the conversion of souls: let this be taken with that."² Here we see the significance of the "amative" way, and of Juan de los Ángeles' use of the words "introversion" and "extraversion." His considered judgment is nowhere better expressed than in a passage, ungainly because packed with technical terms, but lovely because filled with the true spirit of Christ.³ "Let the spiritual life," it recommends, "be contemplative and active by turn. As by nature we open and shut the eyelids, inhale and exhale the air, let us pass from introversion to extraversion, from height to breadth, from prayer to good works. For in all these things we are moved by the Divine Spirit."

VII

In so short a study as this must of necessity be it is impossible, and perhaps undesirable, to write at length of Fray Juan's many sources. That he depends too much upon his authorities his finest passages, which are always the most personal and original, testify: he under-rates his own powers⁴ and unfortunately tends to suppress rather than to accentuate his individuality. The *Com-*

¹ *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 123).

² *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 124-5). See also dial. ix, sec. 2 (p. 131).

³ *Manual*, dial. iv, sec. 8 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 222). The passage, literally, runs thus:

"Éntrase el alma en Dios y allí muere a sí, por el amor frutivo, y súbitamente y con prisa sale a sí por el práctico; sale virtuosamente y entra felizmente; y así persevera unida con Dios en estas entradas y salidas como si nunca saliese. Y esa es la vida espiritual de los varones perfectos, que se teje y forma de estas introversiones y extraversiones, o entradas y salidas, sin que las unas estorben a las otras; lo cual se hace con tanta facilidad como el atraer y expeler el aire para vivir, y el pestañear, abriendo y cerrando los ojos para ver. Dichoso el que lo experimentó."

⁴ See, for example, his prologue to the *Triumphs*, *passim*.

mentary on the "Song of Songs," his least original work, is an inextricable maze of quotations. The *Conquest* and *Manual* are perhaps more original than the *Triumphs* and the *Strife*; yet in the latter books, which in other respects are to our own mind his best,¹ he makes his authorities his own to an extent which somewhat reduces his indebtedness.

Lest the reader should suppose that his learning was of a narrow type, some idea may be given of its range. In the *Commentary* alone he quotes most of the great Fathers of the Church, whose names it would be tedious to recite. Of classical writers he quotes Virgil, Ovid, Theocritus, Martial, Propertius, Menander, Xenophon, Lucian, Theophrastus, Lucretius, Seneca, Lucan, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Catullus, Cicero²—we gather the names at random. He quotes Philo and Plotinus, Eusebius and Origen, Boetius and Bede. He quotes mediæval authors whose names are scarcely to be found even in works of this type. He quotes Euclid. He quotes innumerable Rabbinic authors. He quotes Dante. He quotes Luther, Zwinglius, "Wicleph" and other heretics, declaiming against them as he does so far more strongly than do any of the other mystics treated in this book, whose attitude to them is less one of righteous indignation than of sorrow.

Of the Fathers, by a long way the most frequently cited are St. Augustine and St. Bernard, both in the *Commentary* and the other works. Next in importance among his authorities would come, naturally, Dionysius, that treasure-house of mediæval mysticism,³ Richard of St. Victor, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome, St. Bonaventura, and Henry of Balma. Frequent mention is made of St. Francis.

¹ P. Torró seems rather to prefer the *Conquest*, especially as to form (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 72), rating it very highly (*cf.* vol. i, p. 73).

² He apparently finds nothing to use in Horace.

³ P. Torró (*op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 47 ff.) considers that St. Bonaventura, Henry de Balma and Bernardino de Laredo (see p. 377, above) are the authors who influenced Juan de los Ángeles most profoundly, the corollary of this theory being, of course, that he derived from Franciscan sources. My own reading leads me to different conclusions, as will be seen, but I would not deny that Franciscan writers did influence Fray Juan, and that very strongly.

Something should be said at this point of Fray Juan's use of the narratives of the life of St. Francis. Unlike his brother Francisco de Osuna, he refers to them with great frequency, especially in the *Conquest* and the second part of the *Strife*. One is glad to find that all the most lovable traits in the character of St. Francis are reproduced in the works of this Spanish disciple. Continually he refers to "my father St. Francis," "one of the most perfect men in the world": to his devotion,¹ his service of poverty,² his humility,³ the spirit of joy which informed his whole life.⁴ Anecdotes from his life, concerning both himself⁵ and his disciples,⁶ are used to illustrate an argument; his rule is referred to⁷; his teaching held up for praise⁸; his prayers are quoted and expounded⁹; and, most notably of all, his "Deus meus et omnia" is cited more times than we have space fully to record.¹⁰ The Saint is continually presented as an exemplar to be followed fervently, though of necessity afar off, by those that are "exterior" Christians and know little of the essence of introversion.¹¹ "He was a living picture of Christ, in poverty, contempt of self, humility, charity, and patience, and the remaining virtues. His life and all his works were . . . most truly a commentary on the Gospel."¹² Or again: "Of our father St. Francis, what shall I say? All his life was a perpetual ecstasy and rapture in God."¹³

There is one point of particular interest in Fray

¹ E.g. *Consideraciones*, lect. ii, art. 5 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 141).

² E.g. *Conquista*, dial. vi, sect. 9 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 105).

³ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. iii, sec. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 68); *Tratado . . . de la Misa*, dial. ii (N.B.A.E., i, p. 382); *Consideraciones*, lect. x, art. 2, lect. xiv, art. 2 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 262, 309).

⁴ E.g. *Consideraciones*, lect. xi, art. 2 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 275).

⁵ E.g. *Lucha*, pt. ii, chaps. 7, 15 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 333, 358).

⁶ Of Brother Giles (*ed. cit.*, i, pp. 58, 123, 361) and Brother Roger (i, p. 217).

⁷ *Consideraciones*, lect. iv, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 166).

⁸ *Manual*, dial. iii, sec. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 193).

⁹ *Tratado . . . de la Misa*, dial. i (N.B.A.E., i, p. 371), *Presencia*, punto iv (N.B.A.E., i, p. 463).

¹⁰ Some examples will be found among the passages referred to in this paragraph. Others are in *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 5, lect. v, art. 5, lect. xii (of chap. 2) art. 1 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 141, 197, 488 respectively).

¹¹ *Conquista*, dial. ii, sec. 11 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 58).

¹² *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 100).

¹³ *Presencia*, punto i (N.B.A.E., i, p. 450).

Juan's treatment of St. Francis : namely, the number of times that he refers to the stigmata. We have seen that he wrote frequently of the physical side of mysticism, and it would seem clear that that Divine visitation which is one of the classic examples of mystical phenomena impressed and affected him greatly. Of the numerous references to it ¹ we can quote from but one—the long exposition of the occurrence, extending over many pages, which forms the greater part of the sixth dialogue of the *Conquest*. The short passages which we quote from this will give some idea of the whole. The translation has purposely been kept extremely literal :

Two were the visible transformations made by love, wherein it declared its virtue—to wit, that of God in the man and that of Francis in God. For God had the man in His heart, and love drew Him forth, making Him to appear and be a man. And Francis had within himself Christ wounded and on the Cross, through continual meditation and imitation of Him, and love drew Him forth likewise ; so that Christ appeared and Francis disappeared, because not Francis but Christ ruled and governed that blessed soul and body of Francis.²

Disciple : I heard a preacher say that St. Francis alive was a picture of the dead Christ.

Master : And right well said ; yet I call him the Cross of the glorious Christ. For, being at the right hand of His eternal Father, glorious and triumphant, He came down to earth again and was crucified in St. Francis.

Setting on one side the most holy Virgin, who was a martyr after a nobler manner than were any beside, being martyred in her soul . . . the martyrdom of St. Francis is most excellent, since the glorious Christ caused him to be martyred, without suffering therein hammer or nails or lance. . . . And this is to be considered greatly, for in the Body of the Lord the nails remained only for so long as they were in the wood of the Cross, whereas in St. Francis they remained for more than two years which he lived after he had received the imprint of the wounds. . . . The wounds of

¹ The chief are : *Conquista*, Prólogo al lector (N.B.A.E., i, p. 37), dial. v, sec. 11 (p. 96), dial. vi, *passim* (pp. 97-104) ; *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 2 (pp. 320-1) ; *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 68-9).

² *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 97).

Christ were made by iron ; the wounds of St. Francis were of the flesh. Those were wrought by hate, these by love. . . . So the martyrdom of God is full of love and gladly to be borne ; it has more of sweet than of bitter, while that of a tyrant is of hate and wholly without love (*de desamor*).¹

Of more modern foreign mystics, Juan de los Angeles is indebted most deeply to Ruysbroeck, Tauler and Gerson, and, among those of a later date than these, to Blossius. The numerous references to all four reveal Fray Juan as one of the principal channels (perhaps the chief of all) through which German and Flemish mysticism found a way into Spain.² Gerson is the author to whom he is the most indebted. He cites no less than six of his works by name, and writes of him enthusiastically as "the most learned Gerson"³ and "the great contemplative."⁴ One would suspect that he had read in him deeply and often, for he not merely refers to his teaching⁵ and mentions his works, but quotes authoritatively his definitions of the most fundamental subjects—of "fruitive love,"⁶ for example, of quiet,⁷ of rapture,⁸ of contemplation⁹—and expounds at some length his teachings on recollection¹⁰ and the life of union.¹¹

Less noticeably, but still to a considerable extent, is

¹ *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 101-2).

² P. Torró (*op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 45-7) makes very light of the influence of these writers, not mentioning Gerson, and saying of the rest: "La influencia de esos autores no pasa de la nomenclatura, de los términos y clasificaciones." He does not, however, examine the alleged influence in any detail, merely inviting one to compare the first dialogue of the *Conquista*, which is strongly influenced by Ruysbroeck, with the eighth, ninth and tenth, "(que) salieron en legítima forma española"—a comparison, however, which in no way proves P. Torró's own statement just quoted.

³ *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 9 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 300).

⁴ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 14 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 354).

⁵ E.g. *Triunfos*, chap. 16, Consideración séptima (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 24, 27); *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 4 (p. 99); *Presencia*, punto iv (pp. 461, 468). These are but a few examples among many.

⁶ *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 69). Cf. *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 281).

⁷ *Consideraciones*, lect. iv, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 168).

⁸ *Consideraciones*, lect. ii, art. 2 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 116).

⁹ *Conquista*, dial. ix, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 130).

¹⁰ *Conquista*, dial. x, secs. 4, 8 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 144, 146).

¹¹ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 10 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 341).

Juan de los Ángeles influenced by a greater mystic than Gerson, the "divine Ruysbroeck."¹ The chief of the passages which Ruysbroeck inspires is that on the "centre of the soul" and the "divine intimacy" in the *Conquest*.² He is quoted elsewhere at some length in an important passage on introversion³ and in his more general teaching on the subject of contemplation.⁴

Tauler is often referred to by Fray Juan,⁵ but seldom quoted *verbatim*; and this though he is spoken of as "extático y singularísimo," and his treatise on the Passion is called a "truly golden book."⁶ Blossius figures as little else than a name, and is seldom mentioned except in conjunction with Ruysbroeck and Tauler. A few quotations, however, are made from his writings, which suffice to show that Fray Juan knew them at first-hand, though not to make clear the extent of his knowledge.⁷

More than any other Spanish mystic known to us Fray Juan draws upon his contemporaries and immediate predecessors in Spain itself. He alludes to and uses both St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, though Rousselot quite wrongly says that he mentions neither of them once in all his works. In writing of stigmatization, he could hardly avoid reference to St. Teresa's wonderful experience of transverberation, which in fact he describes in her own words, as well as quoting her language upon the wounds of love considered in a more

¹ In the Treatise on the Presence of God, Fray Juan writes: "Of Ruysbroeck it is said that the remembering of God was as familiar to him as his own breathing whereby he lived, and the one as easy to him as the other; neither outward works impeded him, nor the company of men, nor necessary business, because his soul waited ever upon God and was united with Him; and whensoever he desired he would soar aloft in high and sovereign contemplation" (chap. i).

² *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 41-2). Cf. *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 136-7.

³ *Conquista*, dial. x, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 143-4).

⁴ *Conquista*, dials. i, sec. 3, ix, secs. 3, 7 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 41, 133, 137).

⁵ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 42); *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 7 (pp. 331, 334); *Consideraciones*, lect. vi, art. 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 213-4), chap. ii, lect. v, art. ii (pp. 362-3).

⁶ *Vergel*, chap. vii, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 511).

⁷ E.g. *Conquista*, dials. i, sec. 3, iii, sec. 12, ix, sec. 3, x, sec. 12 (N.B.A.E., i, pp. 42, 72, 133, 149).

general sense.¹ In the *Conquest*² he describes St. Teresa as a "religious person, of great experience in prayer and in familiar converse with God," and makes from the *Way of Perfection* two of the collectively longest quotations to be found in all his works.³ In the *Manual*, too,⁴ he thinks her authority worth citing upon a relatively trivial matter, as well as upon greater and more important themes: the one is in its way as strong a testimony as the other. A further example of St. Teresa's influence has been cited in an earlier section.⁵

Some account has already been given of the use made by Fray Juan of the writings of St. John of the Cross. We may add here that not only does he quote from the *Living Flame of Love* and from the commentary upon it, *verbatim*,⁶ but that the whole of his description of the Dark Night of the Spirit is strongly influenced by the Carmelite Saint, even where he refrains from using his actual words. We know of no other Spanish mystic who has so faithfully reproduced the substance of a description of the Dark Night which for its vividness and sense of reality is almost, if not quite, unique. The misery and anguish of the soul in that state, the gleams of light in the darkness, the soul's considerations of hell, its desires for God, its resignation, nay, its longing to continue, if it be God's will, in its condition of suffering—all these things may be found in Fray Juan as in St. John of the Cross.⁷ And yet Rousselot would seem not to have been aware of this particularly obvious borrowing.

Of other Spanish works, the "Dialogues of Love" of that great precursor of the greatest Spanish mystics, León Hebreo, are quoted, it is strange to find, only once.⁸ St. Tomás Villanueva, a "modern doctor" and "holy patriarch of Valencia,"⁹ finds a place chiefly

¹ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 321).

² *Conquista*, dial. ix, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 135).

³ *Ibid.* (pp. 135-6).

⁴ *Manual*, dial. iii, sec. 10 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 206).

⁵ See pp. 375-6, 385, above.

⁶ *Consideraciones*, lect. xi, art. 2 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 274).

⁷ See pp. 365-8, above.

⁸ *Consideraciones*, lect. i, art. 6 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 96-7).

⁹ *Consideraciones*, lect. xiv, art. 5 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 321).

because of his commentary on the *Song of Songs*,¹ though he is also referred to on other grounds.² Alonso de Orozco, the prolific Augustinian mystic, is also quoted for the sake of his comments upon verses of the *Song of Songs*,³ and the same reason explains a number of quotations from an author less likely to be found in this galley—Benito Arias Montano (*Aparato Bíblico*).⁴ St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* are alluded to, and a literal excerpt from them is made.⁵ As a commentator, the Jesuit Suárez also finds a place in the *Considerations*,⁶ and no Spanish author is quoted with more respect and at greater length. Ribera, of course, as in the works of many other of his contemporaries, is often alluded to. St. Peter of Alcántara, a fellow-Franciscan, is both quoted and referred to anecdotically, though but little use is made of his greatest work.⁷ Alonso de Madrid is quoted once, and his *Art of Serving God* especially is commended.⁸ Another Franciscan, Fray Bernardino de Laredo, is alluded to in a passage already quoted,⁹ and a passage from his *Ascent of Mount Sion* is in the *Spiritual Garden* reproduced (save for a few variants) as it stands.¹⁰ Osuna's *Third Alphabet* is quoted, but in a connexion of no great importance. It is also used, as we have seen,¹¹ without acknowledgment. Luis de Granada is eulogized

¹ E.g. in *Consideraciones*, ed. cit., pp. 104, 118, 163, 247, 256, 321, 483.

² *Conquista*, dial. iii, sec. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 67): "A holy prelate (Fray Tomás) used to say that he had rather have put a hundred men to death than be the cause whereby a single soul should go to hell."

³ *Consideraciones*, chap. i, lect. x, art. 1 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 256), chap. ii, lect. v, art. 2, lect. vi, art. 1, lect. xii, art. 4 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 362, 380, 510, respectively).

⁴ *Consideraciones*, chap. i, lect. vii, arts. 4, 5; chap. ii, lect. ii, art. 1 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 225, 237, 335).

⁵ *Manual*, dial. ii, sec. 9 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 189), dial. iii, sec. 2 (p. 192).

⁶ *Consideraciones*, chap. i, lect. vi, art. 1; lect. x, art. 1; lect. xiv, art. 6; chap. ii, lect. ix, art. 1 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 203, 257, 326, 423).

⁷ *Conquista*, dial. i, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 50). "Our father Fray Pedro de Alcántara was wont to recollect himself by the use only of these words: 'Turn, O my soul, to thy rest, for there does God thy Benefactor await thee.'"

⁸ *Conquista*, dial. vii, sec. 6 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 109).

⁹ *Conquista*, dial. viii, sec. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 128). See also p. 377, n. 3., above.

¹⁰ *Vergel*, chap. iii, sec. 3 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 496).

¹¹ See p. 375, above.

as a "copious and elegant" writer,¹ but comparatively seldom referred to, which is surprising, since he wrote so much and since Fray Juan and he had so many points in common, alike in character, occupation and doctrines. Among lesser Spanish contemporaries—lesser from the mystical standpoint—who find a place in Fray Juan de los Ángeles' works are the Augustinians Casal and Osorio, Nicolás Gallo, Jacobo de Valencia, the Dominican commentator Bartolomé de Medina (Luis de León's great enemy), and the Franciscan theologian and historian Alfonso de Castro. When it is added that there are quoted scores of writers less well known than these—men almost lost in obscurity—some idea may be gained of the way in which Fray Juan enriched his work with the contributions of other writers. We may take one instance of the extent to which he used some of them.

For the use made by Fray Juan of all these contemporary Spanish authors put together hardly exceeds in importance his indebtedness to one other—Fray Luis de León. Primarily, of course, he borrows from the treatise of the Salamanca friar upon the *Song of Songs*: so much one would expect—even that he should take him as guide concerning the fundamentals of his treatment of the book, as in fact he did.² There are many references to the elder monk's work in the *Considerations*³: no doubt Fray Juan had it beside him, and evidently he greatly esteemed it, for the farther he proceeds in his commentary the greater is the use that he makes of Fray Luis.

But he also (at least in his later books) knew and used the *Names of Christ*, not now contenting himself with quoting a few lines, but reproducing, more or less faithfully, whole passages: in one or two places without any acknowledgment of source. It is difficult to say too much of plagiarism in an age when it was made licit to lift a page or half a chapter by adding merely: "The

¹ *Triunfos*, chap. 16, Consideración cuarta (N.B.A.E., i, p. 18).

² *Consideraciones*, Præludium, iii (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 13-14).

³ The principal passages will be found in *ed. cit.*, pp. 170 ff., 201, 203, 210, 218, 244, 266-7, 393, 407, 436-7, 465, 494.

foregoing is from so-and-so," or of an author who used such privileges so openly and continually as Fray Juan. Again, it is possible to find close similarities between two mystical authors which are due to their indebtedness to a third. But nothing will explain away the gross plagiarism, made without note or reference, by Juan de los Angeles, of a beautiful passage from the *Names of Christ*. So long is the passage and so close the resemblance that the similarity can only be the result of direct copying. We quote the greater part of it below, partly for its intrinsic eloquence, and partly that the interested reader may study the resemblance for himself.¹

Strong is this tie which love makes between God and the soul, and so fast a bond of union that in nothing which Nature has formed or art invented are the divers parts knit together with so fine and so invisible a bond as this. This union which is made by means of the divine matrimony is so much the stronger and more excellent than any other as the rite is the straiter and more pure. It is purer than marriage after the flesh, and even so does it excel such marriage in its union of intimacy.

In the one is defilement of the body ; in the other, deification of souls and bodies. Here there is mutual affection between the wills of two persons ; there, all is one will and one desire ; there, Christ the Spouse transforms His Bride into Himself without destruction of her substance. Here men many times stray ; there, they walk ever securely. Here, we find continually anxiety and care, sworn foes of concord and union ; there, that rest and security which helps and favours the state of those at one. Here, the union of two is to bring into the world a third ; there, one union leads to another, one embrace to another, and its fruit is oneness for evermore. Here, happiness is but weak, delight of base alloy and brief duration ; there, both are so great that they submerge alike body and soul—so noble, that they are glory—so pure, that sorrow neither precedes nor follows them, nor is joined nor mingled with them.²

The only variations between this passage and its original are purely verbal, and it is not only at this place in the *Considerations* that the *Names of Christ* has been

¹ The passage from Fray Luis will be found, translated into English, on pp. 335–6, above.

² *Consideraciones*, Præludium, v (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 31–2).

copied. Three more notable examples can be cited. The first has already been referred to in this chapter.¹ The second consists in the copying of one of the best-known passages in the *Names of Christ*, the description of the Birth of Christ in the Soul.² Here it is true that Fray Juan writes : "Let that be noted which Master Fray Luis de León says most learnedly and with the spirit of Heaven"³; but, not content with reproducing the passage in question, he proceeds to copy paragraph after paragraph, occasionally adapting his original, or inserting comments of his own between parts which he quotes word for word. No further indication whatever is given that the bulk of the matter for so many columns is copied and adapted from another.

The last example is again chosen from Fray Luis' best and most eloquent pages—his sincere flatterer was wise enough to use these. This time the plagiarism is from Fray Luis' chapter on the "Beloved." No acknowledgment whatever is made, and the passage, practically copied as it stands, is a long one. Instead of placing the two extracts side by side, we quote a portion in which the Spanish of Fray Juan is absolutely identical with that of Fray Luis, excepting only for an occasional verbal variant.⁴ Let it be remembered that several paragraphs on either side of it are practically copied from Fray Luis also :

He⁵ contented not himself with saying that Christ is the centre and heart of this universe, in order to say that all things therein enfold Him within themselves ; neither did he content himself with calling Him their love, in order to show that all love Him ; but he added more, and called Him Love Enkindled, using a word which in the original signifies not any enkindlement, but one which is mighty and intense, penetrating as it were to the bones. Even so may we say here : "Love that glows, or that

¹ p. 370, n. 1, above.

² See *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, pp. 160-2.

³ *Consideraciones*, chap. ii, lect. xii, art. 4 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 507).

⁴ The most important of these is Fray Juan's "De manera que podemos decir" for "Y así diremos bien aquí." The degree of importance of the two or three remaining divergences can be judged from this.

⁵ I.e. the author of the *Song of Songs*, in chap. 3, vv. 9-10.

converts the hearts of those that possess it into a glowing furnace, that the purity of the lovers of Christ may be the more enhanced." For the number of the lovers of the Beloved is not so great as the ardour and firmness and vehemence and wondrous tenderness of the love which they bear Him.¹

More passages could be quoted in which Fray Juan uses the *Names of Christ* in this way, but by comparison with these few striking examples they would seem of small significance. We may therefore bring this brief survey of his sources to a close.

VIII

The style of Fray Juan in all his books is that of a scholar, but it varies from the heavy, overloaded style of the erudite commentator to the forceful, rapid, figured eloquence of the successful preacher² who could seldom entirely throw off his learning. Whole pages of the commentary on the *Song of Songs* are studded thickly with the names of authorities and with references to them. Paragraphs are written entirely in Latin—we have already glanced at this habit in Spain—so much so that the author will leave his language for the learned tongue in the middle of a sentence, and as suddenly return to it again. The style of an author loses its individuality in such circumstances and need not be further considered.

The Dialogues reveal quite another aspect of a man

¹ *Consideraciones*, lect. xi, art. 1 (N.B.A.E., ii, p. 269). Cf. *Nombres de Cristo*, "Amado" (N.C., vol. iii, p. 126).

² For an illustration, contrast any page of the *Considerations on the "Song of Songs,"* in the original Spanish, with a passage as vivid and arresting, yet as balanced and judicial, as the following :

"En la hornaza o crisol la paja arde, mas el oro se apura ; aquella se vuelve en ceniza, y éste queda sin escoria limpio. El mundo es hornaza ; los malos, paja ; los justos, oro ; el fuego, la tribulación ; el artífice, Dios. Lo que el artífice quiere, eso hago yo ; adonde me pone, allí estoy y sufro con paciencia. A mi cuenta está el sufrir, y a la del artífice purificarme. Si la paja ardiera para quemarme, ella recibe el daño y yo el provecho, porque ella se consume y yo quedo apurado y sin escoria. Al fin, lo que es el trillo al grano, la hornaza al oro y la lima al hierro, eso es la tribulación al justo. Esta despierta al perezoso y lerdo en la virtud, humilla al soberbio, purga al penitente y corona al inocente." (*Conquista*, dial. iv, sec. 2 : N.B.A.E., i, pp. 75-6.)

who is nevertheless always the same erudite scholar. To a reader fresh from studying the *Considerations on the "Song of Songs,"* their most striking feature is probably their homeliness. We may wish that the plan of the two books were clearer, but is not that in their favour, if they are considered merely as dialogues? The conversation passes from one topic to another with the greatest semblance of reality. The disciple's comments and questions are more than the conventional interpositions of a narrative in fiction. The explanations of difficult subjects are obviously written by a teacher who had had experience of such dialogues in real life. Further, his language at times descends to the level of the commonest intelligence.¹ He will quote a popular proverb²; he will discuss his own health and occupations,³ speak of rhubarb as a purgative medicine,⁴ use childish illustrations to drive home his points,⁵ discuss temperance in matters of food, drink, sleep, conversation,⁶ like any general practitioner among spiritual physicians. Undoubtedly his Dialogues would go far towards making the mystical life to be understood of the people.

But the quality of his style which strikes other readers most forcibly—and herein must be included nearly all Spanish critics—is its smoothness and suavity, so fitting in the work of one who had adopted Fray Juan's name.⁷ Many who loved the Spanish language would have been prepared, in the words of one of Fray Juan's contemporaries, to "let the *Diana* go on the fire, and all other

¹ Cf. the manner in which he speaks of his profession in the closing lines of the *Conquista* (N.B.A.E., i, 152): "Turn my counsels over many times in thy memory and pray to the Lord for me, and, if He be pleased to grant my desires, after Lent is passed, wherein I am bound to work in the instruction of the people in common doctrine, I will call thee to me again, and we will hold further talk after the manner of these dialogues."

² E.g. *Conquista*, dial. ii, sec. 13 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 60).

³ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. vi, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 97). But examples of this are common.

⁴ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. iv, sec. 4 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 77).

⁵ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. ix, sec. 9 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 139).

⁶ E.g. *Conquista*, dial. iv, sec. 5 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 79).

⁷ To quote one of the earlier panegyrists of the *Triumphs*, "el libro es tal cual de Ángeles se espera."

such books,"¹ if the spiritual rivals of these delightful profane works were as attractive as his. It is difficult to quote Spanish hyperbole in English without appearing to make eccentric claims for one's subject, but English readers who know Spain will realize that when Juan Molina writes that Fray Juan "brings honey out of the stone and oil from the hardest rock,"² and Menéndez Pelayo calls his language "a river of milk and honey,"³ they are only expressing, though at a distance of nearly three centuries, what it is not too easy for a Southerner to convey in academic and critical language. Perhaps the best commentary upon their words—if not to a foreigner the only one possible—would be to hear a page of the *Triumphs* or the *Spiritual Garden* declaimed from a Spanish pulpit.

The *Triumphs* and the *Strife*—which, to our thinking, constitute his greatest work, for all the ill-success of the former on its appearance—are naturally more direct and forcible. They suggest the preacher, as the Dialogues suggest the teacher. Both the vivid imagination and the eloquence of Juan de los Ángeles have in them greater scope. These last two qualities are even more marked in the *Spiritual Garden*, which, together with the minor doctrinal works, are rather more florid and pretentious in style than the rest. Nevertheless the *Spiritual Garden* has some of Fray Juan's most vivid and illuminating passages, some of his most arresting lines and phrases: want of space unhappily prevents our doing more than suggesting some of these.⁴

Indubitably, Fray Juan was a poet; so much can be inferred from his prose. It would seem also⁵ that he practised verse-writing at an early age, and was influenced by the prevailing modes. Some few traces of this

¹ *Triunfos*, Recomendación de Fr. Angel de Badajoz (N.B.A.E., i, p. 5). Cf. *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, p. 30.

² *Cit.* Sala (N.B.A.E., i, p. li).

³ *Ideas Estéticas*, Madrid, 1896 (2nd ed.), vol. iii, p. 131.

⁴ The reader may be referred to chap. i, sec. 1 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 485, col. 2), sec. 2 (p. 487, col. 1), chap. xv, sec. 4 (p. 540, col. 2), chap. xviii, sec. 2 (p. 522, col. 1), chap. xix, sec. 3 (pp. 558-9), and following pages, *passim*, chap. xxi, sec. 3 (p. 566, col. 1).

⁵ See N.B.A.E., Introduction, i, pp. xi-xiii.

pastime can be found in his works. He translates into *romance* some lines from Ovid in the prologue to the *Triumphs*, and probably he is himself the "Castilian poet" whose verse paraphrases in tercets of certain parts of the *Song of Songs* he quotes.¹ These last are the more interesting because P. Sala thinks them to have been parts of a "verse compendium of Mysticism,"² now non-existent. If so, another extract from the same work will be found in the *Spiritual Strife*,³ and, less probably, other of the few anonymous verses in his works may have had the same destiny. None of these compositions are as distinguished as his best prose. Their principal quality is the smoothness which betrays the natural versifier, and in so melodious a language as Spanish this has a double charm. As this melody is of necessity lost in translation, however, we do not attempt to reproduce the verses in English.⁴

Fray Juan warns his readers, in a memorable chapter of the *Strife*, against visiting the Escorial, and, while carrying away impressions of its grandeur, missing the whole of its thousand wonders of detail.⁵ This detail is finished and complete : had we seen it all in the making, we should have been amazed at things which now we cannot see. Let us not make the same mistake in reading Juan de los Ángeles. His large body of work is a notable addition to mystical literature ; but, considering it in

¹ *Consideraciones*, chap. i, lect. vii, arts. 2, 3 (N.B.A.E., ii, pp. 401, 404).

² N.B.A.E., i, p. xii.

³ *Lucha*, pt. ii, chap. 2 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 321).

⁴ A very few lines in the original suffice to show the quality referred to :

No quiero ya contentos ni alegrías.
No busco sino a Dios, que me ha llagado,
que suya soy, y las entrañas mías.

(*Lucha*.)

Digo que, puesta el alma en su sosiego,
espere a Dios, cual ojo, que cayendo,
se va sabrosamente al sueño ciego.

(*Consideraciones*.)

¡ Oh grandes, oh riquísimas conquistas,
de las Indias de Dios, de aquel gran mundo
tan escondido a las humanas vistas !

(*Consideraciones*.)

⁵ *Lucha*, pt. i, chap. 7 (N.B.A.E., i, p. 295).

bulk, one is apt to forget its many intrinsic beauties. Yet, quite apart from the merit of the whole, there are parts that, for the suavity of their language and the merit of their content, will bear reading over and over again. "He is one of my favourite authors," said Menéndez Pelayo. "No one can read him without loving him, and being carried away by his marvellous sweetness, as angelic as is his name."¹

¹ *Ideas Estéticas* (Madrid, 1896), vol. iii, pp. 131-2.

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WHILE the Bibliography which follows is considerably fuller than the notes given under each author excerpted in *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*, it claims to include no more than a representative selection from the many books and articles which have appeared on this vast subject.

The first section in particular is meant only to be suggestive, and can be supplemented by reference to the bibliographical works mentioned in the third.

A great deal of material will be found in foreign theological reviews, whether Spanish (e.g. *Basilica Teresiana*, *Revista Agustiniiana*, *Ciudad de Dios*, *Razón y Fe*, *Ciencia Tomista*) or French and German (e.g. *Revue d'Etudes Franciscaines*, *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*); and also in such learned reviews as the *Revista de Archivos*, *Revista de Filología Española*, *Revue Hispanique*, and *Bulletin Hispanique*. Many articles on Spanish mysticism will be found in the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*.

Students who have no previous knowledge of Spanish mysticism are recommended to consult the bibliography of the "Preliminary Survey," which contains lists of works of outstanding merit only, before coming to these pages which follow.

Where a particular edition of any work is added in brackets to the title of the work, it is thereby meant that the edition in question either contains additional material to that found in earlier editions, or is the one most readily accessible.

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35. Vaughan, R. A. : *Hours with the Mystics. A contribution to the history of religious opinion*. London, 1856. 2 vols. (9th edition, n.d.)
[An interesting work, but written with strong bias against the Spanish mystics and full of perversities in the pages which deal with them. The translations from the Spanish are also unreliable.]
36. Waite, A. E. : *Studies in Mysticism*. London, 1906.
37. von Waldberg, M. : *Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Romans : I. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der "Schönen Seele" bei den Spanischen Mystikern*. Berlin, 1910.
38. Watrigant, Henri : *Deux méthodes de spiritualité*. Lille, 1900.
39. Zahn, Josef : *Einführung in die christliche Mystik*. Paderborn, 1908 (5th edition, 1922).

410 STUDIES OF THE SPANISH MYSTICS

II. SELECTED WORKS DEALING WITH SPANISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE IN WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE SPANISH MYSTICS

NOTE.—Under this head may be mentioned Spanish encyclopædias such as the *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa) and the *Diccionario Hispano-Americano*, and religious compilations such as the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* and the *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

40. Abad de Santillán, Diego : *Psicología del pueblo español*. Madrid, 1917.

41. Altamira y Crevea, Rafael : *Psicología del pueblo español*. Madrid, 1902.

[The second edition, which was revised and enlarged, and published at Barcelona, 1917, is to be recommended. It forms part of the "Biblioteca de Cultura moderna y contemporánea."]

42. Antonio, Nicolás : *Bibliothecæ Hispanæ sive Scriptorum Hispanæ Gentis, qui ab anno 1500 usque ad præsens tempus monumenta doctrinæ suæ literis tradiderunt*. Romæ, 1672. 2 vols.

[A later edition (Matriti, 1788), going down to 1684, may also be consulted.]

43. Azorín [José Martínez Ruiz] : *Clásicos y Modernos*. Madrid, 1913.

44. Barja, César : *Libros y autores clásicos*. Vermont, 1922.

45. Becker, P. A. : *Geschichte der spanischen Literatur*. Strassburg, 1904.

46. Beer, Rudolph : *Spanische Literaturgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1903. 2 vols.

47. Bouterwek, Friedrich, *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature*. English translation, 1823. Reissued, 1847.

[Originally issued as vols. iii and iv of the author's *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1796 ff. There are also Spanish and French translations.]

48. Cejador y Frauca, Julio : *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*. Madrid, 1915-22. 14 vols.

49. Clarke, Henry Butler. *Spanish Literature*. London, 1893.

50. Ellis, Henry Havelock : *The Soul of Spain*. London, 1908.

51. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James : *History of Spanish Literature*. London, 1898.

[There are also Spanish, French and German translations, greatly enlarged, of this work. A new and enlarged English edition has appeared as this volume is passing through the press.]

52. Ford, J. D. M. : *Main Currents of Spanish Literature*. New York, 1919.

53. Ganivet, Angel : *Idearium español*. Granada, 1897 (2nd edition, Madrid, 1905).

54. González-Blanco, Andrés (editor) : *Las Mejores Poesías místicas en lengua castellana*. Madrid, 1916.

55. Hidalgo, Dionisio: *Diccionario general de bibliografía española*. Madrid, 1862-68. 5 vols.
56. Hurtado y J. de la Serna, Juan, and González Palencia, Ángel: *Historia de la literatura española*. Madrid, 1922.
57. Macías y García, Marcelo: *Poetas religiosos inéditos del siglo xvi, sacados a luz, con noticias y aclaraciones*. Coruña, 1890.
58. Masdeu y Montero, Juan Francisco de: *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española*. Madrid, 1783-1805. 20 vols.
59. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España*. Madrid, 1883-91. 9 vols. (Vol. ii. mainly is useful.)
 [To cite this and the following works only of Menéndez y Pelayo must not be to obscure the possibility of finding ideas of value in any other of his writings. Menéndez y Pelayo had strong affinities with the mystics of his country and a great love for their works, and he constantly refers to them. A new edition of his collected works (Madrid, 1911 ff.) is still slowly appearing.]
60. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: *Estudios de crítica literaria*. Madrid, 1884-1908. 5 vols.
 [The principal contribution of this series of books to the subject is in vol. i. (3rd edition, 1915), pp. 3-77: "De la poesía mística." This is the final form of Menéndez y Pelayo's inaugural address to the Royal Spanish Academy, delivered in 1881, and, though its author was a very young man at the time, it contains much that is of permanent value.]
61. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: *La Ciencia Española*. Madrid, 1887-88. 3 vols. (Mainly vol. ii.)
62. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*. Madrid, 1880-82. 3 vols. Vol. ii.
63. Morel-Fatio, Alfred: *Etudes sur l'Espagne*. Paris, 1888-1904. 3 vols.
64. Muiños Sáenz, P. Conrado: "Influencia de los Agustinos en la poesía castellana" in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xvii, 1888; vol. xviii, 1889, *passim*.
65. Northup, G. T.: *An Introduction to Spanish Literature*. Chicago, 1925.
66. Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal: *Bibliografía Madrileña: descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid (siglo xvi) por el Pbro. . .* Madrid, 1891-1907. 3 vols.
67. Ríos, José Amador de los: *Historia crítica de la literatura española*. Madrid, 1861-65. 7 vols.
68. Salcedo Ruiz, Ángel: *La Literatura española*. Madrid, 1915-17. 4 vols. (2nd edition.)
69. Ticknor, George: *History of Spanish Literature*. Boston, 1849. 2 vols.
70. Unamuno, Miguel de: *En torno al casticismo*. Madrid, 1902.
71. Underhill, J. G.: *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*. New York, 1899.

III. SERVICEABLE BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR STUDENTS OF
SPANISH MYSTICISM

72. Baruzi, Jean: "Esquisse d'une Etude bibliographique," in *Saint Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique*. Paris, 1924. Pp. 713 ff. (See No. 607.)

[These pages contain very full notes, a discussion of the early editions and their contents, some interesting criticisms of the various translations of St. John of the Cross—especially those into French—and an important account of the manuscript sources available.]

73. Bell, Aubrey F. G.: *Luis de León*. Oxford, 1925. Pp. 305-27. (See No. 783.)

74. Coster, Adolphe: "Bibliographie de Luis de León," in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. lix, 1923, pp. 3-104.

[The fullest and best bibliography of Luis de León, with lists of contents of the volumes described, and many notes.]

75. Curzon, Henri Parent de: *Bibliographie Térésienne. Ouvrages français et étrangers sur Sainte Tère et sur ses œuvres. Bibliographie critique*. Paris, 1902.

[67 pp. A wide and sometimes usefully annotated bibliography, but incomplete and not always correct. Much, too, has appeared on St. Teresa since it was published.]

76. Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*. London, 1924. (See No. 82, and p. 407, above.)

77. Underhill, Evelyn: *Mysticism*. London, 1923 (10th edition). (See No. 31.)

IV. WORKS ON SPANISH MYSTICISM

78. Domínguez Berrueta, J.: "Valor representativo de la mística española," in *Basílica Teresiana*, 1918, vol. iv, pp. 178-88.

79. Jérôme de la Mère de Dieu, R. P.: "La Tradition mystique du Carmel," in *Vie Spirituelle*, janvier et mars 1924.

80. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: "De la poesía mística," in *Estudios de crítica literaria*, 1ª Serie, Madrid, 1884, pp. 3-77. [Discurso de entrada en la Real Academia Española.] (See also notes to Nos. 59, 60.)

81. Monasterio, I.: "Introducción a un estudio sobre místicos agustinos españoles," in *España y América*, 1924, vol. xxii, III, 167-80, 321-32; IV, 253-59, 342-50; 1925, vol. xxiii, I, 31-44, 260-68, 332-47; II, 13-27, 161-75; III, 20-36, 241-50, 411-23 (in progress).

82. Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*. London, 1924.

83. Pershore, Abbot of: "Spanish Mysticism," in *Laudate*, vol. iii, 1925, pp. 45-51, 111-18, 179-86.

[Suggestive, but should be read with caution, some of the Abbot's conclusions being highly debatable.]

84. Pfandl, Ludwig: "Die Grossen Spanischen Mystiker" in *Die Neueren Sprachen*, vol. xxxiii, 1925, pp. 104-21.
[A brief and somewhat superficial lecture.]
85. Rousselot, Paul: *Les Mystiques espagnols*. Paris, Didier, 1867.
[Reprinted 1869. There is a Spanish translation of this work (*Los Místicos españoles*. Barcelona, 1907).]
86. M. T. [Marguerite Tollemache]: *Spanish Mystics. A Sequel to "Many Voices."* London, Kegan Paul, 1886.
[Scrappy, ill-informed and in places incorrect. But a pioneer volume in England, and appreciative even if unreliable.]
87. Truc, Gonzague: *Les mystiques espagnols*. (See No. 546.)
88. Valera, Juan: "Del Misticismo en la poesía española," in *Discursos Académicos*, Madrid, 1905, vol. ii. pp. 5-63. (Contestación al discurso de recepción de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo en la Real Academia Española.) (See No. 80.)

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHORS STUDIED IN THIS VOLUME

The entries in this section, with respect to each author named, are grouped under heads, as follows:

I. Original and old editions, first of the collected works of each author, arranged chronologically unless otherwise stated, and then of the single works of each, arranged in alphabetical order of the titles. Latin works are included with Spanish works in this section.

II. Recent and serviceable editions, with a few exceptions published since 1880, arranged similarly.

III. Translations of the author's works (or selections from them) into English, together with a few outstanding translations into other modern languages.

IV. Commentaries, including the publication of apocryphal works.

Short titles only are given, except occasionally, in treating of rare books, at discretion. After the entry of each edition which seems sufficiently early or rare, a note in square brackets, indicating the library where the edition was actually consulted, is usually added, for the student's convenience. It does not, of course, in any way preclude the possibility that the edition is available elsewhere, which is often the case.

In these notes the following abbreviations are made: B.M. = British Museum; B.N. = Biblioteca Nacional (of Madrid, unless otherwise stated); B.U. = Library of the University of Barcelona; B.Cat. = Library of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona; B.M.P. = Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, Santander.

The succeeding volumes of this work will contain similarly arranged bibliographies of the authors studied in them. Sections I-IV (above) will not be reprinted, but will be brought up to date by the addition of such new works as seem to merit inclusion.

ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

I

[Brief particulars only of a few representative editions of the *Spiritual Exercises* are here given.]

(a) EDITIONS IN SPANISH

89. *Ejercicios espirituales*. Roma, 1615.

[This is the first printed edition of the so-called "Autograph" of the Exercises. The real Autograph of St. Ignatius is lost.]

90. *Ejercicios espirituales*. Valencia, Dolz, 1733. [B.U.]

91. *Ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola, sacados del libro del mismo Santo, del padre Luis de la Puente, del P. Gaspar de la Figuera y del P. Castro Palao, por el P. Muñoz*. Madrid, 1823.

(b) EDITIONS IN LATIN

92. *Apothegmata sacra*. Antwerp, 1662. [B.U.]

93. *Epistolæ S. Ignatii Lojolæ, Societatis Jesu Fundatoris*. Bononiæ, 1837.

94. *Excerpta ex exercitiis spiritualibus S. Ignatii, notis illustrata ex Suarez, Dieritins et Directorio exercitiorum*. Gandæ, 1832. [Selections only. 29 pp.]

95. *Exercitia Spiritualia*. 1548. (The title-page bears only these words and the device I H S. The edition was issued in Rome.) [B.M.]

[Among other early editions of the *Spiritual Exercises* in Latin are those of (a) Vienna (1563), (b) Rome (1596, 1606, 1608, 1615), (c) Valencia (1599), (d) St. Omer (1610), (e) Antwerp (1635, 1689), (f) Paris (1644).]

96. *Exercitia Spiritualia S.P. Ignatii de Loyola, cum versione litterali, ex autographo Hispanico, notis illustrata*. Namurci, 1841.

II

(a) EDITIONS IN SPANISH

97. *Ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola*, ed. Luis Belecio. Madrid, 1886.

98. *Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola, Fundador de la Compañía de Jesús, en su texto original*. Barcelona, 1892.

99. *Ejercicios espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola fundador de la Compañía de Jesús. Reproducción fototípica del original*. Roma, 1908.

100. *Ejercicios espirituales*, ed. Jenaro Buceroni. Barcelona, 1908.

101. *Cartas de San Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús*. [Edited by Antonio Cabré, Miguel Mir, and Juan José de la Torre.] Madrid, 1874-90. 6 vols.

(b) EDITIONS IN LATIN

102. "Epistolæ et Instructiones," in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, a patribus eiusdem societatis edita*. (*Monumenta Ignatiana*. Series prima.) Madrid, 1918-19. (See No. 172.)

103. "Exercitia spiritualia sancti Ignatii de Loyola et eorum directoria," in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, a patribus eiusdem societatis edita*. (*Monumenta Ignatiana*. Series segunda.) Madrid, 1918-1919. (See No. 172.)
104. *Exercitia spiritualia S.P. Ignatii de Loyola. Versio litteralis autographi hispani auctore A.R.P. Joanne Roothaan, præp. gen. S.J.* Matriti, 1920.
[An edition in Latin for popular use.]
105. "Scripta de S. Ignatio," in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, a patribus eiusdem societatis edita*. (*Monumenta Ignatiana*. Series quarta.) Madrid, 1918-19. (See No. 172.)

III

(a) TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

106. *A Manuall of Deuout Meditations and Exercises, instructing how to pray mentally. Drawne for the most part out of the spirituall Exercises of B.F. Ignatius*. Written in Spanish by the R.F. Thomas de Villa-castin of the Society of Jesus, and translated into English by a Father of the same Society [Henry More]. St. Omer, 1618.
[2nd edition. St. Omer, 1624.]
107. *The Spiritual Exercises of S. Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Society of Jesus*. St. Omer(s), 1736.
108. *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola, translated from the authorised Latin by Charles Seager*. With preface by the Right Reverend Nicolas Wiseman. London, 1847.
109. *Manresa : or the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. For general use*. London, 1860.
[A substantial devotional manual and commentary on the *Spiritual Exercises*, not an exact translation. A second edition was published in 1881.]
110. *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley. London, 1870.
111. *The Text of the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, translated from the original Spanish*. London, 1880 (4th edition, 1913).
112. *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola, in Spanish and English*. With a continuous commentary by Joseph Rickaby. London, 1915.
113. *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, translated from the Spanish, with a commentary and a translation of the "Directorium in Exercitia"* by W. H. Longridge, M.A., S.S.J.E. London, 1919 (2nd edition, 1922).
[A devotional commentary. The introduction gives some account of the various Spanish and Latin texts of the *Exercises*.]
114. *Letters and Instructions of St. Ignatius Loyola*. Translated by D. F. O'Leary. Selected and edited with notes by the Rev. A. Goodier, S.J. London, 1914.

115. *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola. Being "Sundry Acts of our Father Ignatius, under God the first founder of the Society of Jesus, taken down from the Saint's lips by Luis Gonzales."* Translated by E. M. Rix. With preface by George Tyrrell, S.J. London, 1900.

(b) TRANSLATIONS INTO OTHER MODERN LANGUAGES

116. *Esercittii spirituali. Con una breve istruttione di meditare.* Roma, 1673.
 117. *Exercices spirituels de Saint Ignace, traduits en français par Clément.* Paris, 1833.
 118. *Exercices spirituels de Saint Ignace de Loyola, annotés par le R. P. Roothaan, général de la Compagnie de Jésus, et traduits sur le texte espagnol par le P. Pierre Jenen, de la même Compagnie.* Paris, 1872.
 119. *Die Geistlichen Uebungen des heiligen Ignatius von Loyola, herausgegeben von J. Leitner.* Augsburg, 1870.

[There are also a great many translations of the *Spiritual Exercises*, both old and modern, into Basque.]

IV

[In selecting from a very large number the works which follow, regard has been had to quality, accessibility, and relevance to the aspect from which St. Ignatius is being considered in this work rather than to length. Many well-known works dealing primarily with the Society of Jesus, and with its early history, have been omitted.]

120. *Acta Sanctorum, Julii.* Tom. vii. Die trigesima prima. "De Sancto Ignatio Loyola," auctore Joanne Pinio, S.J. Anversa, 1668, 1731.
 121. Antonio, Nicolás : *Bibliothecæ Hispanæ, etc.* (See No. 42.) Vol. i, p. 473.
 122. *Apophthegmata sacra S. Ignatii de Loiola societatis Iesu fundatoris.* Antverpiæ, 1662. [B.U.]

[A collection of apophthegms, mainly ascetic in character, and drawn from many sources, for the most part from Jesuit writers.]

123. Astrain, P. Antonio, S.J. : *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España.* Madrid, 1902-25. 7 vols.

[The first volume principally ("San Ignacio de Loyola, 1540-1556") is of importance for our purpose. It contains a very full bibliography of thirty-three closely printed pages, with copious notes on contemporary sources.]

124. Bartoli, Daniello, S.J. : *Della vita e dell' Istituto di S. Ignazio, fondatore della Compagnia di Giesù.* Roma, 1650 (2nd edition, 1659).
 125. Bartoli, Daniello, S.J. : *History of the Life and Institute of St. Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Society of Jesus*, by Father Daniel Bartoli, of the Society of Jesus. Translated by the author of *Life in Mexico*. 2 vols. New York, 1856.

[There is also an accessible French translation (*Histoire de S. Ignace de Loyola*, Tournai, 1893).]

126. Baumgarten, Hermann : *Ignatius von Loyola*. Strassburg, 1880.
[A brief essay.]
127. Bayle, C. : "El Espíritu de Santa Teresa y el de San Ignacio," in *Razón y Fe*, 1922, vol. lxii, pp. 294-304, 421-34 ; vol. lxiii, pp. 5-21.
128. Besse, Dom Jean Martial : "Une question d'histoire littéraire au XVI^e siècle : L'exercice de Garcías [*sic*] de Cisneros et les exercices de Saint Ignace," in *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. lxi, 1897, pp. 22-51.
129. Boehmer, Heinrich : "Loyola und die deutsche Mystik," in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*. Leipzig, 1921.
[A brief but interesting and scholarly comparative study by a well-known German professor and writer.]
130. Boehtlingk, Arthur : *Doctor Martin Luther und Ignaz von Loyola. Eine geschichtliche Parallele*. Heidelberg, 1897.
[A brief comparative study of about the same length (48 pp.) as the foregoing.]
131. Boone, P. Antoine, S.J. : *Les Corrections manuscrites des Exercices de saint Ignace*. "Collection de la Bibliothèque des Exercices," No. 18. Paris, 1908.
132. Bouhours, Dominique, S.J. : *Vie de Saint Ignace, Fondateur de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Paris, 1679.
[This Life was translated into English "by a person of quality" and published in London, 1686. More modern editions are : of the original, Avignon, 1821, 2 vols. ; of the English translation, London, 1841.]
133. Butler, Alban : *The Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola, Confessor, founder of the Society of Jesus*, by the Rev. Alban Butler, to which is added the sixth book of his life, written by the celebrated Bohours [*sic*]. Dublin, 1841.
134. Capefigue, J. B. H. R. : *St. Ignace de Loyola et l'Ordre des Jésuites*. Paris, 1865.
135. Casanovas, Ignacio : *Sant Ignasi de Loyola, fundador de la Companyia de Jesús*. Barcelona, 1922.
136. Clair, Charles, S.J. : *La Vie de Saint Ignace de Loyola d'après Pierre Ribadeneira, son premier historien*. Paris, 1891.
137. Clare, James, S.J. : *The Science of Spiritual Life according to the Spiritual Exercises*. London and Leamington, 1896.
138. *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*. Romæ, 1559. [B.M.]
[The *editio princeps*, including also the following : (1) Primum ac generale examen iis omnibus, qui in Societatem Jesu admitti petent, proponendum ; (2) Declarationes et annotationes in Constitutiones Societatis Jesu ; (3) Litteræ Apostolicæ. Among later editions, B.M. has those of 1570, 1583, 1606, 1635, 1838 and 1843. A convenient Spanish edition is that published by Aguado, Madrid, 1892.]

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139. Creixell e Iglesias, Juan, S.J.: *San Ignacio en Montserrat*. Barcelona, 1903.
140. Creixell e Iglesias, Juan, S.J.: *San Ignacio en Barcelona. Reseña histórica de la vida del Santo en el quinquenio de 1523 a 1528*. Barcelona, 1907.
141. Creixell e Iglesias, Juan, S.J.: *San Ignacio en Manresa. Reseña histórica de la vida del Santo, 1522-23*. Barcelona, 1914.
142. Creixell e Iglesias, Juan, S.J.: *San Ignacio de Loyola*. Barcelona, 1922.
143. Daurignac, J. M. S.: *Histoire de Saint Ignace de Loyola*. Paris, 1859. 2 vols.
144. Debuchy, Paul: *Introduction à l'étude des Exercices Spirituels de Saint Ignace*. Enghien, 1906.
145. Desdevises du Desert, G.: "Saint Ignace de Loyola," in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xxxiv, 1915, pp. 1-71.
146. Diertins, Ignatius: *Sensus Exercitiorum Spiritualium S.P. Ignatii Loyolæ explanatus*. Ipris, 1687.
147. Diertins, Ignatius: *Historia Exercitiorum Spiritualium S.P. Ignatii de Loyola*. Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1887.
148. Diez, Miguel de los: *Vida y muerte santa del glorioso patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola, etc.* Madrid, 1619.
149. *Directorium in Exercitia spiritualia B.P.N.I.* Romæ, 1606.
[Other early editions are those of (a) Antwerp (1635) and (b) Paris (1644).]
150. Druffel, August von: *Ignatius von Loyola an der Römischen Curie*. München, 1879.
151. Fita, Fidel, S.J.: "San Ignacio de Loyola en la Corte de los Reyes de Castilla, Estudio crítico," in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 1890, vol. xvii, pp. 492-520.
152. Fluviá, Francisco Javier, S.J.: *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*. Barcelona, 1753.
153. Forbes, F. A.: *The Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*. London, 1913.
[A short, popular life, intended for children.]
154. García, Francisco: *Vida, virtudes y milagros de S. Ignacio de Loyola*. Madrid, 1685.
[A later edition, 1722, is more easily accessible.]
155. Genelli, Christoph, S.J.: *Leben des heiligen Ignatius von Loyola, Stifters der Gesellschaft Jesu. In neuer Bearbeitung herausgegeben von Victor Kolb*. Wien, 1894.
[The original edition was published at Innsbruck in 1848. The English translation (London, 1871) is made through the French of C Sainte-Foi (Paris, 1857), by the Rev. Thomas Meyrick, S.J.]
156. Gess, Felician: "Ignatius von Loyola," in *Historisches Taschenbuch (Sechste Folge. Zwölfter Jahrgang)*, pp. 265-89. Leipzig, 1892.

157. Gothein, Eberhard : *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*. Halle, 1895.
[An earlier and briefer Life of St. Ignatius by the same author was published at Halle, 1885.]
158. Greff, Nikolaus : *Der heilige Ignatius von Loyola und seine Zeit. Ein Charakterbild für unser Zeitalter*. Kaldenkirchen, 1903.
159. Joly, Henri : "Les Sources de Saint Ignace," in *La Quinzaine*, Sept. 15, 1896.
160. Joly, Henri : *St. Ignace de Loyola*. Paris, 1899 (2nd edition).
[A short but able study in the well-known French series, "Les Saints." There is also an English translation (made by Mildred Partridge, London, 1899) in the corresponding English series, "The Saints."]
161. Jovy, E. : *Pascal et Saint Ignace*. Paris, 1923.
[A brief comparative study of 57 pp. by a well-known French writer on Pascal.]
162. Ledesma, Alonso de : *Tercera parte de Conceptos Espirituales. Con las obras hechas a la Beatificación del glorioso patriarca Ignacio de Loyola, etc.* Madrid, 1612.
163. Maffei, Giovanni Pietro, S.J. : *De Vita et Moribus Ignatii Loyolæ, qui Societatem Jesu fundavit*. Romæ, 1585.
[This famous work was published also in Venice, Cologne, and Douay in the year 1585, and many editions followed it during the two succeeding centuries.]
164. Malzac, Maurice : *Ignace de Loyola : essai de psychologie religieuse. Thèse présentée à la faculté de théologie protestante de Paris*. Paris, 1898.
[Contains a brief and insufficient bibliography.]
165. March, Josep M., S.J. : "El B. R. Llull i Sant Ignasi de Loiola, Semblances ascétiques doctrinals," in *Juventut*, año ii, No. 18, 1923, pp. 95-7.
[A lecture tracing the similarities between the teaching of Ramón Lull and St. Ignatius, not very convincingly.]
166. Marcos, Benjamin : *San Ignacio de Loyola*. [*Biblioteca Filosófica : Los grandes filósofos españoles*.] Madrid, 1923.
[A semi-popular study, containing a number of useful bibliographical notes.]
167. Mariani, Antonio Francesco : *Della Vita di S. Ignazio, fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù*. Bologna, 1741.
168. Mariani, Antonio Francesco : *Compendio della vita di Sant' Ignazio*. Parma, 1796.
169. Mariani, Antonio Francesco : *Vita del Patriarca S. Ignazio*. Roma, 1842.
[An English translation of this Life was published in two volumes by F. W. Faber, in the series "The Saints and Servants of God." London, 1848-49.]

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170. Martínez, Juan Antonio: "La Biblioteca de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio de Loyola," in *Razón y Fe*, vol. xxiv, 1909, pp. 277-88.
171. Mercier, P., S.J.: *Concordancia entre la "Imitación de Cristo" y los "Ejercicios Espirituales" de San Ignacio*. Versión castellana de Arturo Masriera. Barcelona, 1900.
172. *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, a patribus eiusdem societatis edita*. Matriti, 1894 ff.
[This large collection of documents, edited in Latin, and still appearing, includes not only the writings of St. Ignatius (see Nos. 102, 103, 105), but also much correspondence, and other historical and documentary matter relating to the earliest Jesuits, often hitherto unpublished. Among the most important volumes, apart from those mentioned above and below, are *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*, *Lainii Monumenta*, and *Epistolæ Mixtæ, Sancto Ignatio a variis datæ*.]
173. Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio: *Honor del gran patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola en que se propone su vida, etc.* Vol. i. Madrid, 1645 ff. 6 vols.
174. Orlandini, Nicolaus, S.J.: *Historiæ Societatis Jesu Pars Prima sive Ignatius*. Antverpiæ, Romæ, 1598-1606.
[The complete work is of six volumes.]
175. Palma, Luis de la, S.J.: *Camino espiritual de la manera que lo enseña el B.P. San Ignacio en su libro de los Ejercicios*. Alcalá, 1626.
176. Palma, Luis de la: *Praxis et brevis declaratio viæ spiritualis, prout eam nos docet S.P.N. Ignatius in quatuor septimanis libelli sui Exercitiorum spiritualium*. Antverpiæ, 1637.
[Contains the text of the *Exercises*, with a commentary. There are later editions of 1644 and 1689.]
177. Palma, Luis de la: *Tractatus aliqui de examine conscientie generali quotidiano secundum doctrinam S.P.N. Ignatii in libello exercitiorum*. Antverpiæ, 1700.
178. Palma, Luis de la: *Tractatus de examine conscientie particulari, secundum doctrinam S.P.N. Ignatii in libello exercitiorum*. Antverpiæ, 1704.
179. Palma, Luis de la, S.J.: *A Treatise on the Particular Examen of Conscience, according to the method of St. Ignatius* (*St. Joseph's Ascetical Library*, No. VII). London, 1873.
[An adaptation, in English, of the foregoing, with a short preface.]
180. Parsons, Mrs. Gertrude: *The Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus*. London, 1860.
181. Pérez, Rafael, S.J.: *La Santa Casa de Loyola. Estudio histórico ilustrado*. Bilbao, 1891.
182. Pérez Arregui, Juan María, S.J.: *San Ignacio en Azpeitia*. Madrid, 1921.

183. Pey Ordeix, Segismundo : *El Padre Mir y S. Ignacio de Loyola. Retratos de San Ignacio, hechos dentro y fuera de la Compañía, por el P. Mir. Estudio histórico-crítico, con nuevas revelaciones sobre la vida de San Ignacio.* Madrid, 1913.
184. Pey Ordeix, Segismundo : *Historia crítica de San Ignacio de Loyola.* Madrid, 1914.
185. Polanco, Joannes Alphonsus de : "Vita Ignatii Loyolæ et rerum Societatis Jesu Historia," in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, vol. i. (See No. 172.)
186. Pollen, John Hungerford, jun. : *Some new lights about St. Ignatius of Loyola.* London, 1909.
 [An article of 14 pp., reprinted from *The Month*, July 1909. Contents : The Saint's Name ; Youthful excesses ; The forged letter at the British Museum ; First ideas of the Society.]
187. *Práctica de los ejercicios de San Ignacio.* Roma, 1665.
188. *Reglas de la Compañía de Jesús y la carta de la obediencia de nuestro B.P. Ignacio.* Madrid, 1600.
 [Contains summary of the constitutions, rules and letters on this subject.]
189. Ribadeneira, Pedro de : *Vida del bienaventurado padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús.*
 [The first edition, in Latin, was published at Naples in 1572 and reprinted almost immediately elsewhere. Later editions in Spanish are those of 1583 and 1594 (Madrid), 1605 (Madrid), Barcelona (1863), and a readable modern edition, Madrid, 1920. In Latin the principal early editions are those of Naples (1572), Antwerp (1587), Lyons (1595); in the seventeenth century Latin editions abound. The earliest English translation was that by Michael Walpole ["W. M."], 1616, reissued in 1622. The B.M. alone has these editions, and others in French, Italian, and German.]
190. Ribadeneira, Pedro de : *Relación de lo que ha sucedido en el negocio de la Canonización del bienaventurado P. Ignacio de Loyola, etc.* Madrid, 1609.
191. Rietschel, Georg Christian : *Martin Luther und Ignatius von Loyola, eine vergleichende Charakteristik ihrer inneren Entwicklung.* Wittenberg, 1879.
192. "Rose, Stewart" : *Ignatius Loyola and the early Jesuits.* London, 1870 (later editions, 1871, 1891).
193. Sedgwick, H. D. : *Ignatius Loyola, An attempt at an impartial biography.* London, 1923.
 [Sources are cited, and a brief bibliography is added, but this latter is not detailed enough to be of much assistance to the general reader.]
194. Serra i Buixó : *Llibre de l'exàmen. Explicació de l'exàmen general i particular, segons l'esperit de Sant Ignasi de Loyola.* Barcelona, 1918.

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195. Spuller, Séraphin Eugène: *Ignace de Loyola et la Compagnie de Jésus. Etude d'histoire politique et religieuse.* Paris, 1876 (3rd edition).
196. Thijm, J. C. Alberdingk: "Het Geboortjaar van den H. Ignatius van Loyola," in *Studien op godsdienstig, wetenschappelijk en letterkundig Gebied*, vol. xlii, pp. 165-91; vol. xliii. pp. 267-75. Utrecht, 1894.
197. Thompson, Francis: *Saint Ignatius Loyola.* Edited by John Hungerford Pollen, jun., S.J. London, 1909.
198. Venturi, Pietro Tacchi, S.J.: *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia.* Roma, 1910 (vol. i), 1922 (vol. ii).
 [This finely produced and monumental work is still in progress. The first volume deals with the religious life in Italy at the time of St. Ignatius; the second narrates the life of St. Ignatius from 1491 to 1540, and contains a selected bibliography of 234 entries.]
199. Watrigant, Henri, S.J.: *La Genèse des Exercices Spirituelles de Saint Ignace de Loyola.* Amiens, 1897.
 [Reprinted from *Etudes publiées par les pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vols. 71, 72, *passim*.]

LUIS DE GRANADA

I

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS

200. [Obras.] *Guía de Pecadores, en la cual se contiene una larga y copiosa exhortación a la virtud, y guarda de los Mandamientos Divinos.* Madrid, 1730. 9 vols.
 [Though this is apparently a series of single works, published independently, it is in reality an edition of the works of Luis de Granada, without a collective title-page. The first volume has the dedication to Our Lady: "Con los demás tomos, componen las Obras de dicho V.P."]
201. *Obras del Venerable P. Maestro Fr. Luis de Granada de la Orden de Santo Domingo.* Madrid, 1786, 1781-89. 18 vols.
202. *Obras del V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada. Precede su vida, escrita por el Licenciado Luis Muñoz.* Madrid, 1788.
 A later edition of this (203), Madrid, 1800. 6 vols.
204. *Obras del V.P.M. Fray Luis de Granada, con un prólogo y la vida del autor por J. J. de Mora.* Madrid, 1849. 3 vols. (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. vi, viii, xi.)

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS

205. *Breve Memorial y guía de lo que debe hacer el cristiano, etc., por el V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada.* Valencia, 1821.
 [A text intended for school use. Contains also the "Diálogo del misterio de la Encarnación entre S. Ambrosio y S. Agustín."]

206. *Breve Memorial y guía de lo que debe hacer el cristiano, por el P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada.* Paris, 1843.
207. *Breve tratado en que se declara de la manera que se podrá proponer la doctrina de nuestra santa fe y religión cristiana a los nuevos fieles,* por el V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada. Paris, 1846. (In "Biblioteca de Predicadores, o Sermionario escogido por Dom Vicente Canos, Pbro," vol. i, pp. 1-43.)
208. *Breves Instrucciones y Oraciones para disponerse, y recibir el Sacramento de la Penitencia y Comunión.* N.p., 1770. [B.M.]
209. *Contemptus mundi.* Sevilla, Juan Cromberger, 1536. [B.N.]
 More than thirty editions of this translation appeared during the sixteenth century. B.M. has the following: (210) Sevilla, Andrés de Burgos, 1546; (211) Baeza, 1550; (212) Medina del Campo, 1554; (213) Libro de la Imitación de Cristo, llamado Contemptus Mundi, Alcalá de Henares, 1555; (214) Contemptus mundi, o menosprecio mundo [*sic*], Madrid, 1598. (215) A reprint of this, Madrid, 1599.
 No. 211 includes also "Cien problemas de la oración," translated from the Italian of Serafino da Fermo. No. 214 contains some "oraciones y ejercicios de devoción," which were first added to the *Contemptus mundi* in the edition of (216) Evora, 1555.
217. *Contemptus mundi.* [Edition revised by an anonymous Jesuit.] Antwerp, 1612.
218. *De la Imitación de Cristo o menosprecio del mundo . . . traducido al castellano por el V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada, del orden de Santo Domingo.* Madrid, 1821.
 [Hidalgo. With this (a re-edition of the *Contemptus Mundi*) were published some opuscles of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg.]
219. *Doctrina Christiana en la qual se enseña todo lo que el Christiano deve hazer desde el principio de su conversión hasta el fin de la perfección.* Valladolid, 1615.
220. (*Tercera parte del libro de la Oración llamada*) *Guía de Pecadores, en la cual se enseña todo lo que el Cristiano debe hacer, dende el principio de conversión, hasta el fin de la perfección.* Compuesta por el Reverendo Padre Fray Luis de Granada, de la Orden de Santo Domingo. Antwerp, 1559. [B.N.]
 [First published, Lisbon, 1556.]
221. *Guía de Pecadores, en la cual se trata copiosamente de las grandes riquezas y hermosura de la virtud y del camino que se ha de llevar para alcanzarla.* Compuesto por el R.P. Fray Luis de Granada de la orden de Santo Domingo. Salamanca, 1573.
222. *Guía de Pecadores, etc.* [and *Tratado de la Oración y Meditación*]. Barcelona, 1588.

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- 223.** *Guía de Pecadores, en la cual se contiene una larga y copiosa exhortación a la virtud, y guarda de los mandamientos divinos.* Barcelona, 1820.

Later editions of the *Guía de Pecadores* are: (224) Barcelona, 1848, 2 vols. (with introduction by Roca y Cornet); (225) Barcelona, 1851, 2 vols. (vols xxxii and xxxiii of "Librería religiosa"); (226) Madrid, 1855; (227) Barcelona, J. Jolis, n.d.

- 228.** *Introducción del símbolo de la fe, Parte primera de la.* Saragossa, 1583-84. [B.M.]

- 229.** *Introducción del símbolo de la fe.* Salamanca, 1588. [B.M.]

[Pérez Pastor (see No. 66) mentions several other editions of the various parts, which may or may not have existed.]

- 230.** *Introducción del símbolo de la fe, Parte primera de la.* Barcelona, 1589. [B. Cat.]

Later editions of this first part are (231) Lerma, 1619; (232) Madrid, 1657.

- 233.** *Libro de la Oración y Meditación: en el cual se trata de la consideración de los principales misterios de nuestra fe, con otras cosas provechosas.* Compuesto por Fray Luys de Granada, de la Orden de Santo Domingo. Salamanca, 1554. [B.N., Lisbon.]

- 234.** *Libro de la Oración y Meditación, etc.* (Same title as the preceding.) Antwerp, 1555.

Other early editions are those of (235) Salamanca, 1555; (236) Antwerp, 1556; (237) Antwerp, 1556; (238) Salamanca, 1556; (239) Cologne, 1556; (240) Antwerp, 1558; (241) Antwerp, 1559; (242) Salamanca, 1566; (243) Salamanca, 1567; (244) Salamanca, 1569; (245) Salamanca, 1570; (246) Salamanca, 1572; (247) Salamanca, 1573; (248) Salamanca, 1577; (249) Barcelona, 1674. [B. Cat.]

Many of these editions are to be found in the B.N., Lisbon.

Later editions of the *Libro de la Oración y Meditación* are:

(250) Barcelona, 1764; (251) Vich, 1791; (252) Madrid, 1832; (253) Valladolid, 1835; (254) Málaga, 1855 ("nueva edición revista con presencia de las primitivas, y corregida, etc."); (255) Barcelona, 1855; (256) Barcelona, 1859, 2 vols.

- 257.** *Las Meditaciones y la Guía de Pecadores*, in "Colección de los mejores autores españoles." Vol. xliii, pp. 271-508. 1847.

[Forms part of the second volume of the series "Tesoro de escritores místicos españoles," edited by Eugenio de Ochoa.]

- 258.** *Memorial de la Vida Christiana.* Barcelona, 1588. [B.M.]

Other editions are: (259) Madrid, 1594; (260) Madrid, 1599.

- 261.** *Tratado de la penitencia, confesión y comunión, por el V.P. Fr. Luis de Granada, de la Orden de Santo Domingo.* Madrid, 1804.

- 262.** *Vida del padre maestro Juan de Avila, por el padre Fray Luis de Granada de la Orden de Santo Domingo.* Madrid, 1588.

As preface (pp. 4-75) to *Obras del Padre Maestro Juan de Avila.*

A later edition (263) was published in Madrid, 1635.

II

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS

264. *Obras de Fr. Luis de Granada, de la Orden de Santo Domingo*. . . .
Edición crítica y completa por Fr. Justo Cuervo. Madrid, 1906-8.
 14 vols.

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS

265. *De la Oración y Consideración*. Barcelona, 1880. 2 vols.
 266. *Exercicios y oraciones de devoción, muy provechosos, recopilados de diversos y graves autores por el M.R.P. Fr. Luis de Granada*. Barcelona, n.d.
 267. *Guía de Pecadores, en la cual se contiene una larga y copiosa exhortación a la virtud y guarda de los mandamientos divinos*. Barcelona, 1884. 2 vols.
 268. *Imitación de Cristo, por Fr. Tomás de Kempis*. Traducción española de Fr. Luis de Granada, según la primera edición hecha en Sevilla en 1536. Friburg de Brisgovia, 1902.
 269. *Los seis libros de la Retórica Eclesiástica, escritos en latín por el V.P.M. Fray Luis de Granada y dados a luz de orden de D. José Climent, obispo de Barcelona*. Barcelona, 1884.
 [Originally published in Spanish at Barcelona in 1778.]
 270. *Sermones* (Biblioteca Universal), Madrid, 1904.

(c) ANTHOLOGIES

271. *Meditaciones para todos los días de la semana, sacadas de las obras del Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de Granada, O.P.* Van añadidas las de Sta Catarina de Sena y del Beato Enrique Susen del mismo Orden. Valencia, 1791.
 This was reprinted (271a) at Burgo de Osma, 1856. The *Meditaciones para todos los días de la semana, por el P. Maestro Fray Luis de Granada* (271b), given by Hidalgo (see No. 55), Paris, 1841, was probably based on another compilation.
 272. *Ejercicios y meditaciones para los días de la semana santa, sacados de las obras del V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada*. Nueva edición, en que se han añadido no sólo varias meditaciones importantes, sino también la versión al castellano de los divinos oficios [*i.e.* of Holy Week]. Madrid, 1822.

III

(a) TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

273. *Of Prayer and Meditation : wherein is conteyned fowertien devoute meditations for the seven daies of the weeke, bothe for the morninges and eveninges. And in them is treyed of the consideration of the principall holie mysteries of our faithe*. Paris, 1582. [B.M.]
 [Follows the Spanish edition of Antwerp, 1572. This is Richard Hopkins' translation, mentioned by J. G. Underhill (see No. 71), p. 389. The title-pages of later editions are similar to, but not identical with, the above.]

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274. *Of Prayer and Meditation, etc.* Rouen, 1583.
[See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 390.]
275. *Of Prayer and Meditation, etc.* Rouen, 1584.
[See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 390.]
276. *A Memoriall of a Christian life : wherein are treated all such thinges, as apperteyne unto a Christian to doe, from the beginnunge of his conversion, until the ende of his perfection.* Divided into seaven treatises. . . . Written first in the Spanish tongue, by the famous religious Father, F. Lewis de Granada. Rouen, 1586. [B.M.]
[Translated by Richard Hopkins. See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), pp. 392-3.]
277. *Granados spiritual and heavenly exercises, devided into seaven pithie and brieft meditations, for every day in the weeke, one with an exposition upon the 51 Psalme.* Written in Spanish by F. Lewes of Granada. London, 1592.
[See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 390.]
278. *The Sinners Guyde. A worke contayning the whole regiment of a Christian life.* . . . Compiled in the Spanish tongue. . . . And nowe perused, and digested into English, by Francis Meres. London, 1598. [B.M.]
[See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 403.]
279. *Granados Devotion. Exactly teaching how a man may truely dedicate and deuote himselfe vnto God and so become his acceptable Votary.* Written in Spanish, by the learned and reuerend Diuine F. Lewes of Granada. Since translated into Latine, Italian and French. And now perused, and englished, by Francis Meres, Master of Artes, and student in Diuinity. London, 1598. [B.M.]
[Translated from the second part of *Libro de la Oración*. See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 403.]
280. *A most fragrant flower, or deuoute exposition of the Lordes prayer.* London, 1598.
[Translated by J. G. from the *Compendio*, part iii. See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), pp. 403-4. I do not know this translation.]
281. *A Memoriall of a Christian life, etc.* Rouen, 1599.
[A second edition of the translation published in 1586.]
282. *Of Prayer and Meditation, etc.* London, 1599. [B.M.]
[See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 390.]
283. *A Spiritual Doctrine conteining a rule to liue wel, with diuers praiers and meditations . . . devided into sixe treatises.* Louvain, 1599.
[Translated by Richard Gibbons from the *Memorial de la vida cristiana*. See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 404.]
284. *Granados spiritual and heavenly exercises, etc.* Edinburgh, 1600. [B.M.]
[See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 390.]

285. *The flowers of Lodowicke of Granado. The first part. In which is handled the conuersion of a sinner.* Translated out of Latine into English, by T. L. [*i.e.* Thomas Lodge], Doctor of Phisicke. London, 1601. [B.M.]
[See an interesting note in J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 406.]
286. *A Paradise of prayers gathered out of the works of L. de Granada.* London, 1601.
[Translated by Thomas Lodge from a compilation of Luis de Granada's writings. I do not know this work. See J. G. Underhill (No. 71), p. 406.]
287. *The Sinners Guide, a worke contayning the whole regiment of a Christian life devided into two Bookes. . . .* Compiled in the Spanish tounge by the learned and reuerend Diuine Fr. Lewes of Granada. Since translated into Latine, Italian and French, and now perused and digested into English by Francis Meres. London, 1614. [B.M.]
[See No. 278 above. The 1614 edition consists of parts i and ii of the *Guía de Pecadores*.]
288. *A Memoriall of a Christian life, etc.* St. Omers, 1625. [B.M.]
[A re-edition of Hopkins' translation of 1586.]
289. *Of Prayer and Meditation, etc.* London, 1633. [B.M.]
[A re-edition of the 1599 translation (see No. 282 above).]
290. *An Excellent Treatise of Consideration and Prayer, etc.* London, 1634. [B.M.]
291. *Two devout prayers or meditations of F. Lewis of Granado,* gathered forth of his Meditations in Spanish. (Forms pp. 164-78 of a volume entitled *A Spiritual Spicerie, containing sundrie sweete tractates of devotion and piety*, by R. Brathwait, Esq. London, 1638.) [B.M.]
292. *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer.* Translated from the Spanish of Lewis of Granada. Edinburgh, 1741. (Forms pp. 126-59 of *The Great Advantages that arise to a Christian by preserving in his mind a constant sense of the Divine Presence*.) [B.M.]
293. *The Sinners Guide. Book the first, containing a full and ample exhortation to the pursuit of virtue, with instructions and directions how to become virtuous.* Written originally in Spanish, by the Reverend Father Lewis of Granada, Provincial of the Order of St. Dominick, in the Kingdom of Portugal. Dublin, 1803.
294. *A Memorial of a Christian Life, containing all that a soul newly converted to God ought to do, that it may attain the perfection to which it ought to aspire.* In four books. Written in Spanish by the Rev. F. Lewis de Granada, of the Order of St. Dominick. The sixth edition revised and corrected by the Rev. F. J. L'Estrange, O.C.D. Dublin, 1831.
295. *Considerations on Mysteries of the Faith.* Newly translated and abridged from the original Spanish. Edited by O. Shipley. London, 1862.

296. *The Resurrection : an Easter Sermon.* Translated from the Spanish of Luis de Granada. London, 1862. (Reprinted from the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, October 1862.)

[This reprint is of interest as having been the first number of a projected series of translations of Luis de Granada's sermons, which was never, however, carried further.]

297. *Counsels on Holiness of Life, being the first part of the Sinner's Guide.* Translated from the Spanish of Luis de Granada together with a life of the author. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London, 1869.

[Preceded by a brief life of the author, based on Mora's. The translation is not identical with that of 1803, but apparently uses it.]

(b) SELECTED TRANSLATIONS INTO OTHER LANGUAGES

298. *L'Arbre de Vie, ou traicte de l'amour divin, premièrement composé en Espagnol par Reverend pere, frere Loys de Grenade, Espagnol . . . traduit d'Italien en Français . . .* par N. Dany, Abbé de S. Crespin le Grand. Paris, 1575. [B.M.]

[A compilation of historical interest only.]

299. *Le vray Chemin et adresse pour acquérir et parvenir à la grâce de Dieu et se maintenir en icelle, par le moyen et compagnie de l'oraison et contemplation en la loi et amour de Dieu.* Seconde édition. Paris, 1579. [B.M.]

300. Another edition. Paris, 1612.

301. *Devotes contemplations et spirituelles instructions sur la vie de nostre Sauveur Jesus Christ.* Faict en Espagnol par Reverend Pere F. Louys de Grenade et mis en Français par F. de Belleforest. Paris, 1583. [B.M.]

[Part ii of the additions of the *Memorial*. The B.M. copy is from the library of Henri III, King of France.]

302. *Le Paradis des prières du R.P.F. Louys de Grenade.* Recueilli en Latin des œuvres spirituelles de celui et d'autres auteurs graves et dévots, par Michel Isselt, Allemand, et mis en notre langue par F. François Bourdon. Troisième édition. Paris, 1602. [B.M.]

[An eloquent tribute in itself to the vogue of Luis de Granada in Europe.]

303. *Le memorial de la vie Chrestienne.* . . . Traduit . . . par N. Colin. Revu et augmenté par I. Chabanel. Paris, 1602. [B.M.]

304. *Les additions ou supplément du memorial de la vie chrestienne.* . . . Traduit . . . par I. Chabanel. Paris, 1602. [B.M.]

305. *Second traicté des additions du memorial de la vie Chrestienne.* Traduit premièrement par F. de Belle-forest, et depuis revu et augmenté par I. Chabanel. Paris, 1602. [B.M.]

306. *Le Guide des Pecheurs.* . . . Traduite de nouveau en François par Mr. Girard Conseiller du Roy. . . . Nouvelle édition. . . . Corrigée. Paris, 1663. [B.M.]

307. *Additions au mémorial de la vie chrestienne*. . . . Traduit de nouveau par Mr. Girard. Paris, 1666. [B.M.]
308. *Guide des pêcheurs*. Traduite de nouveau en français par M. Girard. Paris, Pierre, 1768. [B.U.]
309. *Ceuvres complètes de Louis de Grenade, de l'ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs*. . . . Traduites intégralement pour la première fois en français par M. l'Abbé Bareille. Paris, 1862-68. 22 vols. [B.M.]

IV

310. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliothecæ Hispanæ, etc.* (See No. 42.) Vol. ii, pp. 30-34.
311. Azorín [José Martínez Ruiz]: *Los dos Luises, y otros ensayos*. Madrid, 1921.
312. Azorín [José Martínez Ruiz]: *De Granada a Castelar*. Madrid, 1922.
313. Cacegas, Luis de, and Sousa, Luis de: *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolameu dos Martyres, Arcebispo de Braga*. Viana, 1619.
[These authors, who were the Dominican chroniclers in Portugal, are referred to by Muñoz (see No. 321) as adding a few particulars to our knowledge of the life of Luis de Granada.]
314. Caro, E.: *El tercer centenario del Maestro Fray Luis de Granada*. Relación de su vida, sus escritos y sus predicaciones. Madrid, 1888.
315. Cuervo, Justo: *Biografía de Fray Luis de Granada*. Madrid, 1895. [2nd edition, revised and amplified; the original publication was in 1889.]
316. Cuervo, Justo: "Fr. Luis de Granada," in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo* (1899), vol. i, pp. 733-43.
317. Cuervo, Justo: *Fr. Luis de Granada y la Inquisición*. Salamanca, 1915.
318. Cuervo, Justo: *Fr. Luis de Granada, verdadero y único autor del Libro de la Oración*. Madrid, 1918.
319. Diago, Francisco: *R.P. Ludovici Granatensis vita, itemque tractatus duo* . . . editi a F. D. et . . . in Latinum sermonem conversi studio M. M. Coloniae Agrippinæ, 1614.
[The treatises, on the Incarnation, and on scruples of conscience, are by Luis de Granada. Muñoz (see No. 321) writes of Diago as "el que en castellano dió más dilatada noticia de las cosas del Venerable Fray Luis." His Life first appeared in 1605.]
320. Marieta, Juan de: *Doctrina Christiana* . . . por . . . Luis de Granada . . . agora añadida nuevamente su vida. 1604.
[B.M. has ed. 1615. Muñoz (see No. 321) calls the Life a "sumario tan breve, que apenas puede llamarse historia." It is only of historical interest.]
321. Muñoz, Luis: *Vida del V.P.M. Fr. Luis de Granada*. Madrid, 1639.
[A later edition, and that used in the present volume, is that of Madrid, 1788, in *Obras*, etc. (see No. 202), pp. 1-234.]

- 322.** Peers, E. Allison: *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*. London, 1924. Pp. 19-22, 90-98, 204-10.
- 323.** Rousselot, P.: *Les Mystiques espagnols*. Paris, 1867. Pp. 172-213.
- 324.** Valentí, José Ignacio: *Fray Luis de Granada, ensayo biográfico y crítico*. Palma de Mallorca, 1888.

FRANCISCO DE OSUNA

I

(a) EDITIONS IN SPANISH

Abecedario Espiritual. Primera parte del . . . que trata de las circunstancias de la sagrada Pasión del hijo de Dios:

- 325.** Seville, 1528. [B.N.]
- 326.** Burgos, 1537. [B.M., B.U.]
- 327.** Medina, 1544.
- 328.** Zaragoza, 1546. [B.U.]
- 329.** Seville, 1554.

Abecedario Espiritual. Segunda parte del . . . donde se tratan diversos ejercicios en cada letra el suyo:

- 330.** Seville, 1530. [B.M., B.M.P.]
- 331.** Burgos, 1539. [B.M., B.U.]
- 332.** Burgos, 1545. [B.U.]
- 333.** Seville, 1554.
- 334.** Burgos, 1555. [B.U.]

Abecedario Espiritual. Tercera parte del libro llamado. . . .:

- 335.** Toledo, 1527. [B.N., B.M., B.M.P.]
- 336.** Valladolid, 1537. [B.U.]
- 337.** Burgos, 1544. [B.U.]
- 338.** Seville, 1554.
- 339.** Burgos, 1555. [B.M., B.U.]
- 340.** Madrid, 1638.

[*Abecedario Espiritual*.] Ley de Amor y cuarta parte del . . . donde se tratan muy de raíz los misterios y preguntas y ejercicios del Amor, etc.:

- 341.** N.p., 1530. [B.N.]
- 342.** Burgos, 1536. [B.U.]
- 343.** Burgos, 1542. [B.M., B.U.]
- 344.** Valladolid, 1551. [B.M.]
- 345.** Seville, 1554.
- 346.** Valladolid, 1556. [B.U.]

Abecedario Espiritual. Quinta parte del . . . que es consuelo de pobres y aviso de ricos. No menos útil para los frailes que para los seculares y aun para los predicadores. Cuyo intento debe ser retraer los hombres del amor de las riquezas falsas y hacerlos pobres de espíritu.

- 347.** Burgos, 1542. [B.N., B.M., B.U.]

[Nicolás Antonio gives: Burgos, 1541.]

348. Burgos, 1554. [B.U.]

349. Seville, 1554.

Abecedario Espiritual. Sexta parte del . . . que trata sobre las llagas de Jesu Cristo, para ejercicio de todas las personas devotas :

350. Seville, 1554. [B.N., B.U.]

351. Medina, 1554. [B.M.]

[The first edition has an index to the five other parts of the *Abecedario* and to the *Convite* (see No. 352).]

352. *Gracioso Convite de las gracias del Santo Sacramento del Altar, etc.* Seville, 1530.

Also (**353**). Burgos, 1543. [B.U.]

[This would seem not to be the first edition, since the title-page adds "nuevamente impreso."]

354. Seville, 1544.

355. Seville, 1554.

356. *Norte de los estados, en que se da regla de vivir a los mancebos, y a los casados y a los viudos, y a todos los continentes : y se tratan muy por extenso los remedios del desastrado casamiento, enseñando qué tal ha de ser la vida del cristiano casado.* Compuesto por el reverendo padre fray Francisco de Ossuna, Comissario general de la Orden de San Francisco. . . . Sevilla, Bartolomé Pérez, 1531. [B.N., Madrid.] [B.N., Paris.]

[On the possibility of an earlier edition, see p. 82, n. 1, above.]

357. *Norte de los estados . . . etc.* Burgos, 1541.

358. *Norte de los estados . . . etc.* Burgos, 1550. [B.M., B.U.]

(b) EDITIONS IN LATIN

359. *De quinque plagis, e lingua hispana in latinam conversum.* Romæ, 1616. [B.U.]

[This is the Latin translation of the sixth alphabet (Nos. 350-351 above).]

360. *Expliciunt Sermones dominicales totius anni solemnissimi patris Fratris Francisci ab Ossuna Hispano.* Impressi Cæsar-augustæ, in ædibus Joannæ Millian, Viduæ Didaci Hernan, 1549.

361. *Expositionis super Missus est alter liber ubi agitur de hominis reformatione in paradiso deliciarum deformati, ac per incarnationem filii Dei, in paradiso virginea reparati.* Fratre Francisco ab Ossuna, Minorita Hispano concionatore. Antuerpiæ, 1535. [B.U.]

362. *Pars meridionalis, in accommodas hisce temporibus allegorias : hermeniasque mirabiles Euangeliorum Dominicalium totius anni a Bibliothographo patre, Fratre Francisco ab Osuna.* In ædibus Joannæ Millian. Cæsarauguste, 1549. [B.M.]

The first edition was that of (**363**) Paris, 1533. There were also editions published at (**364**) Zaragoza, 1546, (**365**) Zaragoza, 1549, (**366**) Medina, 1554, (**367**) Zaragoza, 1558, (**368**) Rome, 1590.

- 369.** *Pars occidentalis in accomodas hisce temporibus Evangeliorum quadragesimalium expositiones, incipiens a Dominica septuagesimæ usque ad Feriam II resurrectionis.* Suntque septem sermones beatæ Mariæ sub hoc: Beatus venter qui te portavit, etc. Antuerpiæ, 1536. [B.U.]

Later editions were: (370) Zaragoza, 1546; (371) Paris, 1546; (372) Zaragoza, 1548; (373) Paris, 1548; (374) Zaragoza, 1549; (375) Paris, 1550; (376) Medina, 1554; (377) Lyons, 1560; (378) Venice, 1572; (379) Venice, 1583.

- 380.** *Sanctuarium Biblicum solertissimi Patris Fratris Francisci de Ossuna. . . . Sermones octo . . . pro Sabbatis Quadragesimæ ac Resurrectione sequenti.* Tolosæ, 1533. [B.U.]

- 381.** *Sermones varii, pars orientalis et occidentalis.* Parisiis, G. Lebret, 1533. (See Nos. 362, 369, above.) [B.U.]

- 382.** *Trilogium evangelicum Primum Christi passionem . . . docet, cui annectitur expositio accomoda canticorum graduum . . . etc. Per fratrem Franciscum ab Ossuna Minoritam Hispanum.* Antwerpia, 1536. [B.U.]

The second and third parts deal with the Resurrection and the Ascension respectively. The full title is too long to quote. There was an edition published in Paris, 1537 (383).

P. Michel-Ange (*art. cit.*, see No. 390) mentions also the following works which he has not been able to trace: *Beatus Venter*, Toulouse, 1533 (see No. 369, above); *Allegoriæ Bibliæ*, Zaragoza, 1549; *Passio Compassionis*, Venice, 1573. The first is given by Nicolás Antonio (No. 42) as "Sermones de Beata Virgine super illa verba 'Beatus venter, qui te portavit,' etc."

II

- 384.** *Tercera parte del libro llamado Abecedario Espiritual, ahora nuevamente impreso y corregido y añadido la tabla de los tratados y capítulos que contiene,* 1544. Madrid, 1911.

[In Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. xvi, pp. 319-587. Introduction by Miguel Mir, pp. xxvii-xxxi.]

III

- 385.** *L'Immaculée Conception. Quatre sermons, composés en 1532, par François d'Ossuna, frère-mineur, auteur de l'Abécédaire Spirituel.* Traduction du latin par le R.P. Michel-Ange, frère-mineur capucin. N.d. [1904].

[Four sermons from a collection of seven, written in Latin, on the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady. The translator states that he hopes to translate the *Abecedario* into French also.]

IV

- 386.** Antonio, Nicolás : *Bibliothecæ Hispanæ, etc.* (see No. 42), vol. i, pp. 347-48.
- 387.** Boehmer, Eduard : *Franzisca Hernández und Frai Franzisco Ortiz. Anfänge Reformatorischer Bewegungen in Spanien unter Kaiser Karl V. Aus originalacten des Inquisitionstribunals zu Toledo dargestellt.* Leipzig, 1865.
[See especially pp. 233-310 for Francisco de Osuna. A scholarly book, but not now up to date ; it should be read together with P. Michel-Ange in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1912, pp. 157 ff.]
- 388.** Fita, P. Fidel, S.J. : *La devoción al sagrado corazón de Jesús difundida en España durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI.* N.p., 1878.
- 389.** Marcos de Lisboa, Fray : *Crónicas de la Orden de los frailes menores del Seráfico Padre S. Francisco.* Tercera parte. Lisboa, 1615.
- 390.** Miguel Angel, Fr. [P. Michel Ange] : "La Vie Franciscaine en Espagne entre les deux couronnements de Charles-Quint ou le premier Commissaire Général des provinces franciscaines des Indes Occidentales," in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, año xvi, 1912, pp. 157-214, 345-404 ; año xvii, 1913, pp. 167-225 (marzo-abril), pp. 1-63 (julio-agosto), pp. 157-216 (sept.-oct.), año xviii, 1914, pp. 1-62 ; año xix, 1915, pp. 193-253.
[The major part of this long and industriously documented, though unfinished, study is devoted to Francisco de Osuna's life and works. One chapter (vii) considers partially his influence upon St. Teresa in the *Moradas*.]
- 391.** Peers, E. Allison : *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey.* London, 1924. Pp. 13-16, 59-75, 179-91.
- 392.** San Antonio, Fray Juan de : *Bibliotheca universal franciscana.* Madrid, 1732.
- 393.** Torres, Alonso de : *Crónica de la santa provincia de Granada, de la regular observancia de N.P. San Francisco.* 1683.
- 394.** Wilkens, C. A. : "Zur Geschichte der Spanischen Mystik, Teresa de Jesús." (See No. 548.)

ST. TERESA

I

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS

The early editions of two or more of the collected works of St. Teresa are exceedingly numerous. Those in B.N. or B.U. are specified below. Some of them are also in B.M.

- 395.** *Libros de la Madre Teresa de Jesús.* Salamanca, Guillelmo Foquel, 1588. (See No. 706.)
- 396.** *Obras.* Naples, 1594.
- 397.** Madrid, 1597.

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398. Naples, 1604.

399. Madrid, 1608.

400. Brussels, 1610.

401. Madrid, 1611.

402. Valencia, 1613.

403. Zaragoza, 1615.

404. *Libros de la B. Madre Teresa de Jesús*. Lisbon, 1616.

Obras: (405) Antwerp, 1630; (406) Brussels, 1642; (407) Antwerp, 1649; (408) Lisbon, 1654; (409) Brussels, 1674-75; (410) Barcelona, 1680; (411) Barcelona, 1704; (412) Barcelona, 1724; (413) Barcelona, 1752; (414) Madrid, 1752; (415) Madrid, 1771-78; (416) Madrid, 1793; (417) Paris, 1841; (418) Barcelona, 1844-45; (419) Barcelona, 1848; (420) Madrid, 1851-52; (421) Barcelona, 1859; (422) Madrid, 1861. [Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 53, 55.]

The last of these is the *Escritos de Santa Teresa*, edited by D. Vicente de la Fuente. There are also two well-known translations of the works of St. Teresa into Latin by Mathias Martínaz de Vaulquier: (423) Antwerp, 1619, and (424) Cologne, 1626. [B.N., B.U.]

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS

425. *Avisos y Camino de Perfección*. Evora, 1583.

[See P. Silverio (No. 450), vol. iii, p. xxxii.]

426. *Avisos espirituales*. Barcelona, 1646, 1647. [B.U.]

Other editions are: (427) Madrid, 1647. [B.U.]; (428) Barcelona, 1695. [B.U.].

429. *Camino de Perfección*. Salamanca, 1585.

[See P. Silverio (No. 450), vol. iii, p. xxxiv.]

Other editions are: (430) Valencia, 1587 [B.U.] (see also No. 425, above); (431) Barcelona, 1589 [B.U.].

432. *Cartas*. Zaragoza, 1679. [B.U.]

433. *Cartas*. Madrid, 1752-71. [With notes by Palafox.] [B.U.]

434. *Cartas*. Madrid, 1793.

435. *El Castillo interior o las Moradas y el Camino de Perfección, obras de la santa madre Teresa de Jesús, seguidas de los Avisos que la misma da a sus religiosas, etc.* Barcelona, 1844.

436. *Conceptos del amor divino sobre los "Cantares."* . . . Con unas anotaciones del Padre M. Fr. Jerónimo Gracián. Brussels, 1611.

[Second edition, 1612. See P. Silverio (No. 450), vol. iv, pp. lx, lxiii.]

437. *Conceptos del amor divino sobre los "Cantares."* Valencia, 1613.

438. Madrid, 1615.

439. *Fundaciones de los conventos de los Carmelitas descalzos que escribió su madre Santa Teresa de Jesús por mandado de nuestro Señor.* Con algunos avisos de oración y los conceptos sobre los Cantares que escribió la misma Santa. Zaragoza, 1623. [B.U.]

The original edition of the *Fundaciones* was that of (440) Brussels, 1610. Other editions are: (441) Zaragoza, 1627; (442) Antwerp, 1630; (443) Madrid, 1661; (444) Brussels, 1675; (445) Madrid, 1778.

446. *Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús, escrita por ella misma.* Madrid, 1793.
447. Madrid, 1868.

II

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS

448. *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús, Novísima edición, corregida y aumentada conforme a los originales y a las últimas revisiones, y con notas aclaratorias por D. Vicente de la Fuente.* Madrid, 1881. 6 vols.

[The sixth volume contains documents, many of them important, relating to St. Teresa and her works. But the edition, which until quite recently was the standard one, has now been superseded by that of P. Silverio (see No. 450 below).]

449. *Obras escogidas de la Santa Madre Teresa de Jesús.* Libro de su vida. Las Moradas. Introducción por Rafael Mesa y López. Londres, París, 1912.

[This is in the well-known popular "Nelson" series. The text is not reliable.]

450. *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús.* Editadas y anotadas por el P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D. Burgos, 1915-26. 9 vols.

[This excellent modern and critical edition seems unlikely to be surpassed for many years. It contains a reliable text of all St. Teresa's authentic works.]

451. *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús.* Edición y notas del P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D. Burgos, 1922.

[A convenient one-volume edition of over a thousand pages, containing the text of the authentic works of St. Teresa, and a subject-index.]

452. *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús.* Prólogo del Excmo. Sr. Marqués de San Juan de Piedras Albas. Madrid, 1916. 4 vols.

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS

453. *Avisos originales de Santa Teresa de Jesús, etc.* Reproducción por medio de la foto-litografía hecha por los artistas Selfa y Mateu. Madrid, n.d. (? 1881).

454. *El Castillo interior, o Tratado de las moradas. Edición autobiografiada e impresa según el texto original.* Seville, 1882.

[A tercentenary edition published by the then Archbishop of Seville. The autograph of the *Moradas* is in the Convent of San José, Seville.]

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455. *Las Moradas*. [Castillo Interior.] Edición y notas de T. Navarro Tomás, Madrid, 1916. (In "Clásicos castellanos.")
456. *Castillo interior*. Edición cotejada con el MS. original por Luis Carlos Viada y Lluch, y precedida del elogio de la Santa por Miguel S. Oliver. Barcelona, 1917. (In "Biblioteca de Grandes Maestros.")
457. *La Vida de la Santa Madre Teresa de Jesús*. Nueva edición conforme al original autógrafo. Madrid, 1882.
458. "Cuatro autógrafos inéditos de Santa Teresa de Jesús," in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 1915, pp. 98-147.
[Many other newly discovered letters and fragments of St. Teresa's writing, too numerous to quote, have been printed in the above-mentioned review, and in others, during recent years. The English reader may be referred for these, and for their sources, to No. 450 (vols. vii-ix) and to the translation of the *Letters* by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, No. 470 below.]

(c) ANTHOLOGIES

459. *Sentenciario, o sea colección de sentencias y otros sentimientos más notables que se encuentran en las obras de la Santa*. Escrito en italiano y ahora puesto en español por el Dr. D. F. Noguer y de Rocafiguera. Gerona, 1853.
460. *Espíritu de Santa Teresa, sacado de sus obras, sus cartas y sus opúsculos*. Madrid, 1852.
461. *Ramillete de flores místicas y ascéticas sacadas de las obras de la inspirada y seráfica madre Santa Teresa de Jesús*, por Ramón Tavarés y Lozano. Madrid, 1883.
462. *Todas las poesías de San Juan de la Cruz y de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, recogidas y publicadas por W. Storck. Monastero, 1854.

III

NOTE.—A chapter on foreign translations of St. Teresa's works will be found in P. Silverio's introduction, vol. i, pp. ciii-cviii (see No. 450).

(a) TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

463. *Book of the Foundations*. Written by Saint Teresa. Translated from the Spanish by J. Dalton. London, 1853.
464. *The Book of the Foundations of S. Teresa of Jesus*. Written by herself. Translated from the Spanish by D. Lewis. London, 1871.
465. *Saint Theresa. The history of her foundations*. Translated from the Spanish by Sister Agnes Mason, C.H.F., with a preface by the Rt. Hon. Sir E. M. Satow. Cambridge, 1909.
466. *The Book of the Foundations of St. Teresa of Jesus, with the Visitation of Nunneries, the Rule and Constitutions*. Written by herself, translated by David Lewis. New and revised edition, with introduction by the Very Rev. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. London, 1913.

467. *The Interior Castle; or the Mansions*. Written by Saint Teresa. Translated from the Spanish by J. Dalton. London, 1852.
468. *The Interior Castle, or the Mansions*. By St. Teresa of Jesus. Translated from the autograph of St. Teresa by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. Revised, with introduction and additional notes, by the Very Reverend Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. London, 1906 (2nd edition, 1906; 3rd edition, 1921).
469. *The Letters of Saint Teresa*. Translated from the Spanish by J. Dalton. (Vol. i only published.) London, 1853.
[Contains sixty letters only, translated from the Madrid edition of 1793 (see No. 434). This volume was reprinted in London, 1902.]
470. *The Letters of St. Teresa*. A complete edition, translated from the Spanish and annotated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, with an introduction by Cardinal Gasquet. 4 vols. London, 1919-24.
471. *The Life of the Mother Teresa of Jesus, foundress of the monasteries of the Discalced or Barefooted Carmelite Nuns and Friars of the first rule*. Written by herself at the commandment of her ghostly father, and now translated into English out of Spanish. By W. M. [said to be William Malone], of the Society of Jesus. Antwerp, 1611.
472. *The Flaming Hart, or the Life of St. Teresa*. Translated by M. T. [Sir Tobias Mathew]. London, 1623.
473. *The Flaming Hart, or the Life of the glorious S. Theresa, etc.* Antwerp, 1642.
[This is a second edition of Sir Tobias Mathew's translation.]
474. *The Life of the Holy Mother S. Teresa, foundress of the reformation of the Discalced Carmelites, according to the primitive rule*. Divided into two parts, the second containing her Foundations. N.p., 1671. [B.M.]
[This is the translation known as Abraham Woodhead's, being partly by him. The second part, published earlier, is bound with it, the contents of this part following those of the first part. Some details as to this translation are given in Lewis's translation of the *Life* (see No. 477), pp. xxxii-xxxiii.]
475. *The second part of the Life of the Holy Mother S. Teresa of Jesus, or the History of the Foundations*. Written by herself. Whereunto are annexed her death, burial, and the miraculous incorruption and fragrancy of her body; together with her treatise of the manner of visiting the monasteries of discalced nuns. N.p., 1669. [B.M.]
[Fr. Zimmerman (*Carmel in England*, London, 1899, p. 242 n.) gives particulars of a third volume, which I have not seen, without title-page, containing "the *Way of Perfection, Interior Castle, Conceptions on the Love of God, Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, Exclamations, Advices, Hymns*, some letters, and an Index to all three volumes."]
476. *The Life of St. Teresa*. Written by herself and translated from the Spanish by the Rev. John Dalton. London, 1851.

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477. *The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus, of the order of Our Lady of Carmel.* Written by herself, translated by David Lewis. Notes and introduction by the Very Rev. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. 4th edition. London, 1911.
[Originally issued in 1870. 2nd edition, 1888; 3rd edition, 1904.]
478. *Minor Works of St. Teresa—Conceptions of the Love of God, Exclamations, Maxims and Poems of St. Teresa of Jesus.* Translated from the Spanish by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. Revised with notes and an introduction by the Rev. Fr. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. Also a short account of the Saint's death and canonisation, etc., by the translator. London, 1913.
479. *The Way of Perfection and Conceptions of Divine Love.* Translated from the Spanish by J. Dalton. London, 1852.
480. *The Way of Perfection and Conceptions of Divine Love.* Translated from the Spanish by the Rev. John Dalton. London, 1901.
481. *The Way of Perfection by Saint Teresa.* Edited by A. R. Waller. London, 1901.
[This is a reprint of Abraham Woodhead's translation (see No. 475 n.), with modernized spelling, and the addition of a few notes.]
482. *The Way of Perfection, by St. Teresa of Jesus.* Translated from the autograph of St. Teresa by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, including all the variants from both the Escorial and Valladolid editions. Revised, with notes and an introduction, by the Very Rev. Fr. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. London, 1911.
483. *Thoughts of St. Teresa for every day.* Compiled by Kathleen Mary Balfe. London, 1923.
[A popular anthology.]

(b) SELECTED TRANSLATIONS INTO OTHER LANGUAGES

484. *Œuvres complètes de Sainte Térèse de Jésus.* Paris, 1907-1910, 6 vols.
485. *Lettres de Sainte Térèse.* Traduites par le père Marcel Bouix. Paris, 1861.
486. *Lettres de Sainte Thérèse de Jésus, Réformatrice du Carmel.* Traduction augmentée de plus de 70 Lettres et 400 fragments . . . par le R.P. Grégoire de Saint-Joseph des Carmes Déchaussés. Paris, 1900. 3 vols.
487. *Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús, escrita per ella mateixa.* Versió catalana de Lluís Vidal. Barcelona, Foment de Pietat Catalana, 1920.
[Curzon (see No. 75) gives particulars of many more translations, comprising Portuguese, French, English, Italian, German, Flemish, Dutch and Polish.]

IV

COMMENTARIES

Of the many biographies and biographical-critical studies of St. Teresa, only the principal ones written in Spanish or English have been included below. See also No. 75.

488. "Acta Sanctorum," Octobris, tom. vii (pars prior): *De Sancta Teresia Virgine*. Bruxelles, 1845.
489. (R.P.) Alphonse de la Mère des Douleurs: *Pratique de l'oraison mentale et de la perfection d'après Sainte Térèse et Saint Jean de la Croix*. Paris, Lille, 1909-11. 4 vols.
490. Alvarez, Fray Paulino: *Santa Teresa de Jesús y el P. Bañez*. Madrid, 1882.
491. Antolin, P. Guillermo: *Los Autógrafos de Santa Teresa de Jesús como se conservan en el Real Monasterio del Escorial*. Madrid, 1914.
492. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliothecæ Hispanæ, etc.* (see No. 42), vol. ii, pp. 237-40.
493. Antonio de San Joaquín, P.: *Año Teresiano*. Madrid, 1733-66. 12 vols.
494. Arinterro, J. G.: "Influencia de Santa Teresa en el progreso de la Teología mística," in *Ciencia Tomista*, 1923, vol. xxviii, pp. 48-70.
495. Artigas, Miguel: "Santa Teresa cantada por los grandes poetas españoles," in *Basilica Teresiana*, 1922, pp. 75-90.
496. *Basilica Teresiana*. Salamanca, 1914 ff.
[Many articles, of unequal merit (including a number called forth by the tercentenary of St. Teresa's canonization, 1622), in this review, which is largely devoted to the Saint's life and writings.]
497. Bayle, C.: *El Espíritu de Santa Teresa y el de San Ignacio*. (See No. 127.)
498. Cazal, Edmond: *Sainte Thérèse*. Paris, 1921.
[Has a brief bibliography. See a review by G. Etchegoyen in *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1921, vol. xxiii, pp. 285-303.]
499. Chagas, Emmanuel das: *Vida de Santa Teresa*. Lisboa, 1631.
500. Coleridge, Henry James: *The Life and Letters of St. Theresa*. London, 1881-88. 3 vols.
501. Cuervo, Fr. Justo: "La edición valenciana, 1587, del Camino de Perfección de Santa Teresa," in *Basilica Teresiana*, vol. viii, 1921, pp. 169-76.
502. Cunninghame Graham, Gabriela: *Santa Teresa, being some account of her life and times together with some pages from the history of the last great reform in the religious orders*. New edition. 1 vol. London, 1907.
[First issued in two volumes, 1894.]
503. Curzon, Henri Parent de: *Bibliographie Térésienne*. (See No. 75.)
504. Domínguez Berrueta, Juan: *Sta. Teresa de Jesús y San Juan de la Cruz*. Bocetos psicológicos. Madrid, 1915.
505. Etchegoyen, Gaston: *L'Amour divin. Essai sur les sources de sainte Thérèse*. Bordeaux, Paris, 1923.

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506. Eulogio de San José, Fray : *Doctorado de Santa Teresa de Jesús y de San Juan de la Cruz*. Córdoba, 1896.

507. Fita, Fidel, S.J. : *Elogio de Santa Teresa de Jesús*. Madrid, 1915.

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442 STUDIES OF THE SPANISH MYSTICS

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552. Zöckler, O.: *Petrus von Alcantara, Theresa von Avila und Johannes vom Kreuze*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mönchisch-clerikalen Contra-Reformation Spaniens im 16 Jahrhundert. Leipzig, 1864-1865.
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ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

I

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS

554. *Obras espirituales que encaminan a una alma a la perfecta unión con Dios*. Por el Venerable P.F. Juan de la Cruz. Alcalá de Henares, 1618.
[Contains: Subida del Monte Carmelo; Noche oscura del alma; Llama de amor viva; Apuntamientos y advertencias . . . y doctrina de las obras espirituales de nuestro venerable padre Fray Juan de la Cruz . . . por el padre Fray Diego de Jesús, C.D. A brief biography by Fr. Diego de Jesús precedes these works.]

555. *Obras espirituales que encaminan a una alma a la perfecta unión con Dios.* Por el Venerable P.F. Juan de la Cruz, primer Descalzo de la Reforma de Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Barcelona, 1619.

[Contains introductory matter, including a Life of the author, *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, *Noche Oscura del Sentido y del Espíritu*, *Llama de Amor Viva* and appendices. No poetical works are given.]

556. *Obras espirituales, etc.* Barcelona, 1626. [B.U.]

557. *Obras del Venerable y místico Doctor F. Joan de la Cruz.* Madrid, 1630. [B.U.]

Another edition : (558) Barcelona, 1635. [B.U.]

559. *Noche oscura del alma y Declaración de las canciones que encierran el camino de la perfecta unión de amor con Dios, cual se puede en esta vida, y las propiedades admirables del alma que a ella ha llegado.* Por el Venerable P.F. Juan de la Cruz. Barcelona, 1619.

560. *Declaración de las Canciones que tratan del ejercicio de amor entre el alma y el Esposo Cristo, en la cual se tocan, y declaran algunos puntos y efectos de Oración.* Por el venerable Padre Fray Juan de la Cruz. . . . Bruselas, Godefredo Schoevarts, 1627. [B.M.]

[This is the *Cántico Espiritual* with the prose commentary upon it. At the end are printed a number of other verses by St. John of the Cross.]

561. *Opera mystica ex Hispanico idiomate in latinum nunc primum translata* per R.P.F. Andrean a Jesu. Coloniae, 1639. [B.N.]

562. *Obras del venerable padre Fray Juan de la Cruz.* Madrid, Rodriguez, 1649. [B.M., B.U.]

[Contains : Cartas escritas por el V.P. Fr. Juan de la Cruz, Sentencia[s] Espiritual[es], Coplas hechas por nuestro V.P. Fray Juan de la Cruz, Dibujo de . . . Fray Juan de la Cruz [a brief biography by P. Jerónimo de San José (see No. 630)], *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, *Noche Oscura* (del Sentido y del Espíritu), *Cántico Espiritual*, *Llama de Amor Viva* and Appendices.]

Later editions are :

563. Madrid, 1672. [B.U.]

564. Madrid, 1679.

565. Barcelona, 1693. [B.U.]

566. Madrid, 1694. [B.U.]

567. Madrid, 1700. [B.N.]

568. Sevilla, 1701. [B.U.]

569. Sevilla, 1703. [B.U., B.M.]

570. Pamplona, 1774. [B.M.]

[The edition of 1703 is preceded by a "Compendio de la Vida del beato padre San Juan de la Cruz por el padre fray Jerónimo de San José," which is really a summary of the latter's *Historia, etc.* (see No. 631), by Fr. Andrés de Jesús María.]

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More modern editions are :

- 571.** *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz* (in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. xxvii, xxxv). Madrid, 1849.

[A very unsatisfactory text, which should not be used by serious students.]

- 572.** *Obras espirituales, etc.* Nueva edición precedida de un prólogo por D. Juan Manuel Ortí y Lara. Madrid, 1872. 2 vols.

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS

- 573.** *Avisos y sentencias espirituales.* Sevilla, 1701.

- 574.** Barcelona, 1724. [B.U.]

II

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS

- 575.** *Obras del místico doctor San Juan de la Cruz.* Edición crítica y la más correcta y completa de las publicadas hasta hoy, con introducciones y notas del Padre Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, Carmelita Descalzo. Toledo, 1912-14. 3 vols.

[The work of a young Spanish scholar who has recently died. The edition has faults, both of judgment and detail, but is by a long way the best text available.]

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS

- 576.** *Avisos y sentencias espirituales que encaminan a un alma a la más perfecta unión con Dios en transformación de amor.* Barcelona, Padres Carmelitas Descalzos, n.d. (? 1724). [B. Cat.]

- 577.** *Poetas de San Juan de la Cruz.* Ed. Fr. Angel María de Santa Teresa. Burgos, 1904.

- 578.** *El Cántico Espiritual, según el MS. de las Madres Carmelitas de Jaén.* Edición y notas de M. Martínez Burgos. Madrid, 1924. (In "Clásicos Castellanos.")

(c) ANTHOLOGIES

- 579.** *Todas las poesías de San Juan de la Cruz* (W. Storck). (See No. 462.)

III

(a) TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

- 580.** *The Complete Works of St. John of the Cross.* Translated from the original Spanish by D. Lewis. Edited by the Oblate Fathers of Saint Charles. With a preface by Cardinal Wiseman. London, 1864. 2 vols. (2nd edition, 1889.)

- 581.** *The Ascent of Mount Carmel.* Translated by David Lewis. With corrections, and a prefatory essay on the development of mysticism in the Carmelite Order, by Benedict Zimmermann. London, 1906.

- 582.** *The Dark Night of the Soul.* Translated by David Lewis. With corrections, and introductory essay by Benedict Zimmermann. London, 1908 (5th edition, revised, 1924).

583. *The Living Flame of Love*. By St. John of the Cross. With his Letters, Poems and Minor Writings. Translated by David Lewis. With an essay by Cardinal Wiseman, and additions and an introduction by Benedict Zimmerman. London, 1912.
584. *A Spiritual Canticle of the Soul*. Translated by David Lewis. With corrections and an introduction by Benedict Zimmermann. London, 1909.
585. *The Spirit of St. John of the Cross*. Consisting of his maxims, sayings, and spiritual advice on various subjects. Translated from the Spanish by Canon Dalton. London, 1863.
586. *Thoughts of St. John of the Cross for every day*. Compiled by Kathleen Mary Balfe. London, 1924.
[A popular anthology.]

(b) SELECTED TRANSLATIONS INTO OTHER LANGUAGES

587. *Cantique d'amour divin entre Jésus-Christ et l'âme dévote*. Composé en espagnol par le B. Père Jean de la Croix. Traduit par M. René Gaultier, Conseiller d'Etat. Paris, 1622. [B.N.]
588. *Oeuvres spirituelles du B.P. Jean de la Croix*. . . . Nouvellement revues par le R.P. Cyprien de la Nativité de la Vierge. Paris, 1641. 2 vols. [B.N.]
589. *Oeuvres du bienheureux Jean de la Croix*. Traduction nouvelle. Paris, 1694.
590. *Œuvres de Saint Jean de la Croix*. Traduites par Charles-Marie du Sacré Cœur. Toulouse, 1876. [B.M.]
591. *Vie et Œuvres spirituelles de l'admirable docteur mystique le bienheureux père Saint Jean de la Croix*. Traduction nouvelle, publiée par les soins des Carmélites de Paris. Paris et Poitiers, 1876. 4 vols. (5th edition, 1922.)
592. *Les Cantiques Spirituels de Saint Jean de la Croix*. Nouvellement revus et corrigés sur l'original, par le R.P. Cyprien de la Nativité de la Vierge, et traduits en vers français par le même. Paris, 1917.
593. *Canciones, nouvellement traduits par René-Louis Doyon, avec une étude sur la poésie de l'amour mystique*. Paris, 1920.
594. *Les poèmes mystiques de Saint Jean de la Croix*. Traduction en vers français avec le texte espagnol en regard. Par un Frère des Ecoles Chrétiennes. Paris, 1922.
595. *Opere spirituali che conducono l'anima alla perfetta unione con Dio composta dal ven. P.F. Giovanni della Croce*. Tradotte dalla spagnuola in questa nostra lingua italiana dal P.Fr. Alessandro di S. Francesco Definitore Generale della Congregazione d'Italia. In Roma, 1627.
[Frequently reprinted.]
596. *Johann vom Kreuz Sämmtliche Schriften, herausgegeben von Gallus Schwab*. Sulzbach, 1830. [Later edition, Regensburg, 1858.]
597. *Leben und Werke des heiligen Johannes vom Kreuz, ersten Barfüßigen-Karmeliten zum ersten Male vollständig aus dem spanischen Originale übersetzt von Peter Lechner*. Regensburg, 1859.

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598. *Verhole wercken van den Salighenende verlichten heeraen Johannes van den Cruyce, overgheset door Servatius van den H. Petrus, O. Carm.* Gand, 1693-1703.

599. *Geestlijke Werken den H. Johannes de Cruce.* Gand, 1916-17.

[A number of other translations are mentioned by Jean Baruzi in his Bibliography (see No. 607), pp. 718 ff. Details are frequently not given.]

IV

600. A.: "En torno al misticismo poético de San Juan de la Cruz," in *Basilica Teresiana*, 1916, pp. 228-47.

601. Alphonse de la Mère des Douleurs, R.P.: *Pratique de l'oraison mentale, etc.* (See No. 489.)

602. Anon.: *Vita del mistico dottore S. Giovanni dalla Croce, primo Carmelitano Scalzo.* Treviso, 1837.

[A popular life in forty brief chapters, each preceded by an engraving.]

603. Anon.: *Life of Saint John of the Cross of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel.* London, 1873.

[This life is compiled from various sources, but mainly from that of Fray José de Jesús María (see No. 632), though it is not a translation of it, but merely follows it as a rule.]

604. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliothecæ Hispanæ, etc.* (see No. 42), vol. i, pp. 517-18.

605. Arbiol, Antonio: *Mística fundamental de Christo Señor nuestro.* Explicado por el glorioso y beato Padre San Juan de la Cruz. Zaragoza, 1723. [B.U., B.Cat. The former has also an edition, Barcelona, 1748. Another is dated Madrid, 1761.]

606. Azorín [José Martínez Ruiz]: "Un sensitivo," in *Los Valores literarios.* Madrid, 1913. Pp. 55-59.

607. Baruzi, Jean: *Saint Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique.* Paris, 1924.

[The largest critical work which has as yet appeared on St. John of the Cross. Contains new biographical matter, as well as being a philosopher's exposition of St. John of the Cross's thought.]

608. Baruzi, Jean: *Aphorismes de Saint Jean de la Croix.* Texte établi et traduit d'après le manuscrit autographe d'Andújar. Bordeaux et Paris, 1924.

609. Baruzi, Jean: "Le problème des citations scripturaires en langue latine dans l'œuvre de Saint Jean de la Croix," in *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1922, tom. xxiv, pp. 18-40.

610. Besse, R.P. Ludovic de: *Eclaircissements sur les œuvres mystiques de Saint Jean de la Croix.* Paris, 1893.

611. Butler, Dom Cuthbert: *Western Mysticism.* (See No. 6.)

612. Calaber, Abbé : *La Terminologie de Saint Jean de la Croix dans la Montée du Carmel et la Nuit obscure*. Suivie d'un abrégé de ces deux ouvrages. Paris, Angers, 1904.
613. Carré-Chataignier, A. : *Essai sur les images dans l'œuvre de Saint Jean de la Croix*. Thèmes directeurs et classes d'images. Paris, 1923.
614. *Certamen literario en honor de San Juan de la Cruz*. Segovia, 1892.
615. Chevallier, Fr. Ph. : "Le Cantique Spirituel de Saint Jean de la Croix a-t-il été interpolé?" in *Bulletin Hispanique*, tom. xxiv, 1922, pp. 307-42.
616. Collet, M. : *La Vie de Saint Jean de la Croix*. Turin, 1769.
617. *Compendio della mistica teologia di S. Giovanni della Croce*. Opera inedita di un padre Carmelitano scalzo. Siena, 1886.
618. *Compendium vitæ, virtutum et miraculorum, necnon actorum in causa Canonizationis B. Joannis a Cruce*. Romæ, 1726.
619. Delacroix, Henri : *Etudes d'Histoire et de Psychologie du mysticisme*. Paris, 1908. Pp. 248-62.
620. Demimuid, Maurice : *Saint Jean de la Croix*, 1542-91. Paris (Collection "Les Saints"), 1916.
621. Diego de Jesús, Fray. (See No. 554.)
622. Domínguez Berrueta, Juan : *Sta. Teresa de Jesús y San Juan de la Cruz*. Bocetos psicológicos. Madrid, 1915.
623. Domínguez Berrueta, M. : *El misticismo de San Juan de la Cruz en sus poesías*. Madrid, 1894.
624. Domínguez Berrueta, M. : *El misticismo en la Poesía. Estudio de crítica literaria. San Juan de la Cruz*. Salamanca, 1897.
625. Dosithée de Saint Alexis : *Vie de Saint Jean de la Croix*. Paris, 1727. 2 vols.
626. Encinas y López de Espinosa, R. : *La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz*. Valencia, 1905.
627. Eulogio de San José, Fray : *Doctorado de Santa Teresa de Jesús y de San Juan de la Cruz*. Córdoba, 1896.
628. Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, C.D., P. : *Los Autógrafos que se conservan del místico doctor San Juan de la Cruz*. Edición fototipográfica por el Padre Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz. Toledo, 1913.
629. Hutchings, W. H. : *Exterior and interior life of S. John of the Cross*. Oxford, 1881.
630. Jerónimo de San José, P. [Gerónimo Ezquerra y Blancas] : *Dibujo del venerable varón Fray Juan de la Cruz*. Madrid, 1629.
631. Jerónimo de San José, P. : *Historia del Venerable Padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz, Primer Descalzo Carmelita*. Madrid, 1641.

632. José de Jesús María (Quiroga), Fray : *Historia del Venerable Padre Fray Juan de la Cruz*. Brussels, 1628.
[A later edition [B.M.] is entitled *Hechos heroicos de la portentosa vida, etc.* Madrid, 1717. A translation of the original work in French was published in Paris, 1638. See also *Don que tuvo San Juan de la Cruz para guiar las almas*, by the same author. Published in the Toledo edition (see No. 575), vol. iii, pp. 511-76.]
633. José de Santa Teresa, Fray : *Resunta de la Vida de N. Bienaventurado P. San Juan de la Cruz, etc.* Madrid, 1675.
Another edition : (634) Murcia, 1779.
635. Lewis, David : *Life of St. John of the Cross*. London, 1897.
636. Muñoz Garnica, M. : *San Juan de la Cruz*. Ensayo histórico. Jaen, 1875.
637. Pastourel, Dom : "La doctrine de Saint Jean de la Croix," in *Annales de Philosophie chrétienne*, October 1912.
638. Peers, E. Allison : *Spanish Mysticism, a Preliminary Survey*. London, 1924. Pp. 26-29, 108-18, 220-28.
639. Peláez, J. : *Autógrafos del místico doctor San Juan de la Cruz*. Toledo, 1913.
640. Poulain, A. : *La mystique de Saint Jean de la Croix*. Paris, 1892.
641. Rossell, Pedro : *Epítome de la vida de San Juan de la Cruz*. Barcelona, 1675. [B.Cat.]
642. Romero de Torres, E. : "Una escritura de San Juan de la Cruz," in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 1916, vol. xix, pp. 65-70.
643. Rousselot, P. : *Les Mystiques Espagnols*. Paris, 1867. Pp. 379-408.
644. Sánchez Moguel, A. (See No. 542.)
645. San José, L. de : *La Santidad en el claustro o cautelas del seráfico doctor místico San Juan de la Cruz*. Barcelona, 1920.
646. *San Juan de la Cruz, Revista de*. Carmelitano-teresiana dirigida por los P. Carmelitas Descalzos. Segovia (vols. i-iii), 1890-92; Córdoba (vols. iv-v), 1893-94.
647. Symons, Arthur : *The Poetry of Santa Teresa and San Juan de la Cruz*. (See No. 544.)
648. Truc, G. (See No 546.)
649. Valentí, José Ignacio : *Examen crítico de las obras de San Juan de la Cruz*. Madrid, 1892.
650. Vallée, R.P. : *Saint Jean de la Croix : sa vie, sa doctrine*. Lille, 1892.
651. Wenceslao del S. Sacramento, Fr. : *Fisonomía de un Doctor, Ensayo crítico*. Salamanca, 1913.
652. Zöckler, O. : *Petrus von Alcantara, etc.* (See No. 552.)

LUIS DE LEÓN

I

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS IN SPANISH

653. *Obras propias y traducciones Latinas, Griegas y Italianas*. Con la parafrasi de algunos Psalmos, y Capítulos de Iob. Autor el doctissimo y Reverendissimo Padre fray Luis de Leon. Madrid, 1631. [B.N.]

[This volume was reprinted at Milan (654) (Phelippe Guidolfi, 1631) in the year of its publication [B.N., B.U.]. A third edition (655) [B.M., B.U.] appeared in Valencia (Imprenta de Joseph Thomas Lucas) in 1761, and a fourth (656) in Valencia (Joseph y Thomas de Orga) in 1785 [B.N.].]

657. *Obras del M. Fr. Luis de Leon de la Orden de San Agustin reconocidas y cotejadas con varios manuscritos auténticos*. Por el P.M. Fr. Antolin Merino de la misma orden. 6 vols. Madrid, Viuda de Ibarra, 1804-16.

[This edition was reprinted in Barcelona, 1848, in the series "Tesoro de autores ilustres."]

658. [*Obras*] in *Colección de los mejores autores españoles*, vols. 15, 44.

[Vol. 15, 1838 (*Tesoro del Parnaso Español*, ed. Quintana), contains (pp. 53-58) a selection from the *Poesías*. Vol. 44, 1847 (*Tesoro de Escritores Místicos Españoles*, ed. Ochoa), contains *La Perfecta Casada* and further poems.]

659. "Obras del Maestro Fray Luis de León," in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días*. Escritores del siglo XVI. Tomo segundo. Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1855.

[This well-known volume (No. xxxvii of the series) contains the *Nombres de Cristo*, *Perfecta Casada*, *Cantares*, *Respuesta desde su prisión*, *Poesías*, *Exposición del Libro de Job*. These are preceded by Mayans' Life of Luis de León, and details of the trial. A reprint is dated 1899, and a second reprint 1910.

Some minor works will be found in vols. xxv, liii, lxi and lxii of the same collection.]

660. *Obras selectas del maestro Fray Luis de León precedidas de su biografía*. Por M. G[onzález] Ll[ana]. Madrid, Tomás Alonso, 1868.

[Contents: Vida de Fray Luis de León; *La Perfecta Casada*; *Poesías selectas*. Forms vol. i of "Biblioteca escogida: Tesoro de autores españoles."]

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS IN SPANISH

661. *De los Nombres de Cristo en dos libros*. Por el Maestro Fray Luys de Leon. En Salamanca, en casa de Iuan Fernandez, 1583.

662. *De los Nombres de Christo en tres libros*. Por el Maestro Fray Luis de Leon. Segunda impression, en que de mas de un libro que de nuevo se añade, van otras muchas cosas añadidas y emendadas. Salamanca. Por los herederos de Mathias Gast, 1585 [really 1586]. [B.N., B.U.]

- 663.** *De los Nombres de Christo.* En tres libros. Por el Maestro Fray Luys de Leon. Segunda impression, en que demas de un libro que de nuevo se añade, van otras muchas cosas añadidas y emendadas. En Barcelona. Por Hieronymo Genoues, 1587. [B.N., B.U.]
- 664.** Tercera impression. Salamanca, Guillelmo Foquel, 1587. [B.U.]
- 665.** Cuarta impression. Salamanca, Iuan Fernandez, 1595. [B.U., B.N.]
- 666.** Quinta impression, en que va añadido el nombre de Cordero, con tres tablas, la una de los nombres de Christo, otra de la perfecta Casada, la tercera de los lugares de la Scriptura. Salamanca, Antonia Ramirez, 1603. [B.N., B.U., B.M.]
- 667.** Sexta ("Nueva") edición ("emendada por el cotejo de las cinco primeras"). Valencia, Benito Monfort, 1770. [B.U.]
- Later editions, described by Bell and by Coster (Nos. 783, 793-94) are : (**668**) Valencia, S. Faulí, 1770 ; (**669**) Valencia, S. Faulí, 1774 ; (**670**) Madrid, 1779 ; (**671**) Barcelona, 1848.
- 672.** *De los Nombres de Cristo y la Perfecta Casada.* Madrid, 1872.
- 673.** *Exposicion del libro de Job.* Obra posthuma del Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de Leon, de la Orden de N.P.S. Agustin, Cathedratico de Escritura en la Universidad de Salamanca. Madrid : Imprenta de Pedro Marin, 1779. [B.N., B.U., B.M.]
- 674.** *Exposicion del Salmo Miserere mei por Fr. Luis de Leon.* Catedratico de visperas de la Universidad de Salamanca. Salamanca : Antonio Ramirez, 1607. [B.N.]
- Another edition : (**675**) Madrid ("Matriti apud Didacum Flamenco"), 1618.
- 676.** *Exposición del Miserere.* Por el P.M.F. Luys de Leon, Cathedratico de Visperas, en la Universidad de Salamanca. En Barcelona, por Lorenzo Deu, delante el Palacio del Rey, 1632. [B.U.]
- [Facsimile reprint by Archer M. Huntington. New York, 1903.]
- 677.** *La Perfecta Casada.* Por el Maestro Fray Luys de Leon. En Salamanca, en casa de Iuan Fernandez. 1583. [B.M.]
- 678.** *La Perfecta Casada.* Por el maestro Fray Luys de Leon. Dirigida a la excelentísima Señora Condesa de Sastago y Virreina de Aragón. Zaragoza, 1584.
- 679.** *La Perfecta Casada.* Por el maestro F. Luys de Leon. Segunda impression mas añadida y emendada. En Salamanca. En casa de Cornelio Bonardo, 1586. [B.N.]
- 680.** Tercera impression. Salamanca, Guillelmo Foquel, 1587. [B.U.]
- 681.** Cuarta impression. Salamanca, Iuan Fernandez, 1595.
- 682.** Quinta impression. Salamanca, Antonia Ramirez, 1603.
- 683.** Sexta impression. Valencia, Salvador Faulí, 1765. [B.N.]
- 684.** Septima impression. Valencia, Salvador Faulí, 1773. [B.N.]

685. *La Perfecta Casada*. Por el Maestro fray Luis de Leon. Tercera edicion, nuevamente ilustrada con algunas notas de fray Iuan de Iesus Maria. Madrid, Iuan Gonzalez, 1632. [B.N.]

Later editions are: (686) Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1786; (687) Madrid, Espinosa y Abadia, 1799; (688) Madrid, Collado, 1819; (689) Barcelona, 1846; (690) Madrid, Ginesta, 1872; (691) Madrid, 1873; (692) Madrid, 1877 (tomo xxxiv of Biblioteca Universal, reprinted in 1903); (693) Madrid, 1877 (with prologue by Orti y Lara).

694. *Poesías*. 1771.

[In vol. v of *Parnaso Español*, ed. J. J. López de Sedano. Contains twelve poems attributed by López de Sedano to Luis de León. In vol. iv of the same collection, published in 1776 [*sic*], are four more poems of the same author. A second edition of vol. v appeared in 1777.]

695. *Poesias espirituales escritas por el P.M.F. Luis de Leon* [and four others]. Madrid, Andrés de Sotos, 1779.

696. *Poesias del Maestro Fray Luis de Leon*. Madrid, 1790.

[Forms vol. x of a collection of Spanish poems published by "Don Ramón Fernández" (*pseud.*). Contains the same poems as the Valencian (1761) edition of *Obras propias y traducciones* (No. 655).]

697. "Poesías," 1807, in *Poesías selectas castellanas, desde el tiempo de Juan de Mena hasta nuestros días*. Recogidas por D. Manuel Josef Quintana. Madrid, González Fuentenebro y Compañía, 1807. 3 vols.

[Vol. i, pp. 63-75, contains eight poems by Luis de León. A second edition, in four volumes, was published in Madrid in 1817, and in the same year a four-volume reprint of the 1807 edition appeared at Perpignan (J. Alzine). A new edition in four volumes was published in Madrid (M. de Burgos), 1830; another in a single volume appeared in Paris (Lib. Eur. de Baudry) in 1838 (tomo xv of *Colección de los mejores autores españoles*), and another, from the same city and publisher, containing nine poems by Luis de León, in 1861.]

698. *Poesías escogidas de Fray Luis de Leon, Francisco de la Torre, Bernardo de Balbuena y otros varios*. Paris, 1822.

[A second edition, containing seventeen poems by Luis de León, appeared in 1823.]

699. "Poesías," 1823, in *Floresta de Rimas Antiguas Castellanas ordenada por Don Juan Nicolas Böhl de Faber, de la Real Academia Española*. Hamburgo, Perthes y Besser, 1821-25. 3 vols.

[In part ii (1823) are seventeen poems of Luis de León. There is a second edition (Hamburgo, 1827-43).]

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700. "Poesías," 1847, in *Tesoro de los Escritores místicos españoles, publicado bajo la dirección de Don Eugenio de Ochoa*. Tomo tercero. Paris, Baudry, 1847.

[This volume contains eighteen original poems by Luis de León, and eighteen translated poems.]

701. "Poesías," 1849, in *Colección de autores selectos, latinos y castellanos*. Madrid, Imprenta Nacional, 1849.

[Various poems by Luis de León appear in vols. ii, iii, v.]

702. *Poesías coleccionadas por D. Francisco Besalú*. Madrid, 1872.

703. "Poesías," 1873, in *Biblioteca Universal*, tom. v. (*Fray Luis de León y San Juan de la Cruz*.) Madrid, San Mateo, 1873.

[Reprinted (a) 1899 and (b) 1907.]

704. *Traducción y exposición paraphrasiica del Psalmo 50. En verso castellano. Con una canción a Christo Crucificado*. Por el Rmo. P.M. Fr. Luis de Leon. Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1727.

[Mayans cites another edition of this work, Valencia, 1757.]

705. *Traducción literal y declaración del Libro de los Cantares de Salomon*, hecha por el Mro. Fr. Luis de Leon del Orden de San Agustín. Salamanca, Francisco de Toxar, 1798.

706. *Los Libros de la Madre Teresa de Jesús, fundadora de los monesterios de monjas y frayles Carmelitas descalços de la primera regla*. En Salamanca, por Guillelmo Foquel, 1588.

[See No. 395 and text, pp. 295-6, above.]

(c) EDITIONS OF LATIN WORKS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

707. Luysii Legionensis, F.: *In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis Explanatio*. Salmanticæ, Excudebat Lucas a Iunta, 1580. [B.N.]

Second edition, revised by the author: (708) Salmanticæ, 1582

[B.N., B.M.]; third edition: (709) Salmanticæ, 1589 [B.U.].

710. Luysii Legionensis Augustiniani, F.: *In Psalmum vigesimum-sextum Explanatio*. Salmanticæ, Excudebat Lucas a Iunta, 1580. (In the same volume as the preceding.)

Second edition: (711) Salmanticæ, 1582.

712. Luysii Legionensis Augustiniani, F.: *Theologiæ doctoris, et Divinorum librorum primi apud Salmanticenses interpretis explanationum in eosdem, Tomus Primus*. Salmanticæ. Apud Guillelmum Foquel, 1589. [B.U.]

[Contains: In Canticum Canticorum Triplex explanatio; In Psalmum xxvi.; In Abdiam prophetam; In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas.]

713. Luysii Legionensis, Fr.: *De utriusque agni typici atque veri immolationis legitimo tempore*. Salmanticæ. Apud Guillelmum Foquel, 1590.

[The Biblioteca Nacional has what apparently is (714) a second edition, dated 1592. In 1604 this treatise was published as one volume with the *De Agno Typico* of Basilius Ponce de León (715), and again (716) in 1611.]

- 717.** *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum Salomonis.* Auctore F. Aloysio Legionensi August. Divinorum librorum Primo apud Salmanticenses interprete. Eiusdemque explanatio In Psalmum vigesimum sextum Davidicum. Venetiis, 1604.

Later editions of this work are (718) Parisiis, 1608, and (719) Parisiis, 1649.

II

(a) EDITIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS (SPANISH AND LATIN)

- 720.** *Obras del P. Mro. Fr. Luis de Leon, de la orden de San Agustín, reconocidas y cotejadas con varios manuscritos auténticos.* Por el P.M. Fray A. Merino, de la misma orden. 4 tom. Madrid, 1885.
[An edition by P. Conrado Muñíos Sáenz, based on that of Merino (1804-16) and containing also the fragment of the life of St. Teresa by Luis de León.]
- 721.** *Escritos en prosa.* Cotejados con varios manuscritos auténticos. Cantar de Cantares. Respuesta de Fr. Luis de León estando en la cárcel. La Perfecta Casada. Exposición del Salmo 41. Cartas. Barcelona, Toledano, López y C^a, n.d. [1904]. (Vol. i of the Enciclopedia literaria.)
- 722.** *Mag. Luysii Legionensis Augustiniani Divinorum Librorum primi apud Salmanticenses interpretis Opera.* Nunc primum ex MSS. ejusdem omnibus PP. Augustiniensium studio edita. Salmanticæ. Episcopali Calatravæ Collegio, 1891-95. 7 vols.

(b) EDITIONS OF SINGLE WORKS

- 723.** *De los Nombres de Cristo.* Barcelona, 1885.
- 724.** *De los Nombres de Cristo.* Madrid, 1907.
[The edition is in the "Biblioteca del Apostolado de la Prensa."
There is a brief biography as prologue.]
- 725.** *De los Nombres de Cristo.* Edición y notas de Federico de Onís. Madrid, 1914, 1917, 1921. 3 vols. (Clásicos Castellanos.)
[This edition has at the end of each volume an appendix containing the text of Alonso de Orozco's *De nueve nombres de Cristo*, reprinted from *La Ciudad de Dios*, 1888, vols. xvi, xvii.]
- 726.** *De los Nombres de Cristo.* Edición, prólogo y notas de Enrique de Mesa. Madrid, 1917. 2 vols. (Biblioteca Calleja.)
- 727.** *De los Nombres de Cristo.* Madrid, 1924. 2 vols. (Colección Universal Calpe.)
- 728.** Luis de Leon, Fray: *La Perfecta Casada, Traducción literal y declaración del Libro de los Cantares de Salomón. Respuesta que desde su prisión da a sus émulos el maestro Fray Luis de Leon.* Año de 1573. Barcelona. Biblioteca clásica española. Daniel Cortezo y C^a, 1884.
[Also contains certain of Luis de León's poems.]

729. *La Perfecta Casada.* Madrid, Dubrull, 1882.

Other editions of this work are : (730) Madrid, 1885 (Biblioteca de la Correspondencia); (731) Madrid, 1887; (732) Madrid, Gregorio del Amo, 1897; (733) Barcelona, Montaner y Simón, 1898; (734) Madrid, Calleja, 1899; (735) Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1899; (736) Madrid, 1900; (737) Barcelona, 1904; (738) Barcelona, Hijos de Jesús, n.d. [1905]; (739) Pontevedra, 1906; (740) Madrid, 1906; (741) Barcelona, A. López (Colección Diamante), n.d. [1912]; (742) Barcelona, A. López, n.d. [1913]; (743) Madrid, n.d. (Biblioteca de la Cultura popular, tomo iii) [1914]; (744) Madrid, 1917 (Clásicos de la literatura castellana).

The following merits special mention :

745. *La Perfecta Casada.* Por el Maestro F. Luys de Leon. Texto del siglo XVI. . . . Reimpresión de la tercera edición, con variantes de la primera, y un prólogo por Elizabeth Wallace. Chicago, 1903.

746. *Poesías originales.* Revisadas por don Federico de Onís. San José de Costa Rica, 1920.

747. *Fray Luis de León (1527-91).* Poesías propias y Traducciones de Autores profanos y sagrados. Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1921.

748. "Poesías," 1921, in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Augustiniano*, vol. xv, 1921.

[Seven poems by Luis de León, original and translated, published for the first time, from an autograph MS., by P. Gregorio de Santiago Vela.]

749. *Poesías completas.* Madrid, n.d. [1922].

750. "De la Vida de Santa Teresa, etc., por Fr. Luis de León (MS. Inédito)," in *Revista Agustiniana*. (See No. 521.)

751. "El Perfecto Predicador. Exposición del Ecclesiastés, obra inédita de Fr. Luis de León," in *Revista Agustiniana*, vols. xi-xiii, 1886-87, continued in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xiv, 1887.

752. "Discours prononcé par Luis de León au chapitre de Dueñas, 15 Mai 1557 (Latin text published by Adolphe Coster)," in *Revue Hispanique*, 1920, vol. I, pp. 1-60.

III

(a) TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

753. "Poems," in *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*. Selected and translated by John Bowring. London, Taylor and Hessey, 1824.

[Contains three poems by Luis de León, in English and Spanish.]

754. *Poems from the Spanish of Fra [sic] Luis Ponce de Leon.* Translated by Henry Phillips, jun. Philadelphia, 1883.

755. *Spanish Prose and Poetry, old and new.* By Ida Farnell. Oxford, 1920. Pp. 92-103.

755a. "The Names of Christ." Readings from *Nombres de Cristo* by Fray Luis de Leon. London, 1926.

[A brief selection made by a Benedictine of Stanbrook, omitting a number of important and characteristic passages.]

(b) SELECTED TRANSLATIONS INTO OTHER LANGUAGES

- 756.** *Des Noms de Jésus-Christ dans la Sainte-Écriture.* Œuvre capitale de Louis de Léon. Et l'un des chefs d'œuvre théologiques de l'Espagne . . . traduite pour la première fois en français . . . par M. l'Abbé V. Postel. Lyon-Paris, 1856 (2nd edition, 1862).
- 757.** *L'Epouse parfaite, par maître Frère Louis de León, religieux de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin.* Traduit pour la première fois de l'espagnol par Ph. Guignard. Paris, V.-A. Waille, 1845.
- 758.** *La Femme parfaite, selon les divines écritures.* Œuvre de Louis de Léon, Religieux Augustin de Salamanque. Traduite en français . . . et annotée avec le plus grand soin par M. l'Abbé V. Postel. Lyon-Paris, 1857.
- 759.** *L'Epouse parfaite.* Traduction, préface et notes par Jane Dieulafoy. Edition suivie de la Messe de Mariage. Paris, 1906.
- 760.** "Poésias," in *Espagne Poétique.* Choix de poésies castillanes depuis Charles-Quint jusqu'à nos jours, mises en vers français, etc. Par Don Juan Maria Maury. Paris, P. Mongie, 1826-27. 2 vols.
[Volume i contains three poems by Luis de León, in French and Spanish.]
- 761.** "Poésies," in *Le Magasin de librairie*, tome xi, pp. 105-41. Paris, Charpentier, 1860.
[Contains translations of twelve poems by Luis de León.]
- 762.** Luis de Leon, Frère : *Poésies originales classées pour la première fois dans l'ordre chronologique.* Traduites et annotées par Adolphe Coster. Chartres, Lester, 1923.
- 763.** *Traduction du système d'un docteur espagnol. Sur la dernière Pasque de N.S. Jésus-Christ.* Avec des réflexions sur ce système, et sur la discipline des anciens Quartodecimans, par rapport à ce sujet. Par le P. Gabr. Daniel, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris [1695].
[A translation of *De utriusque agni.*]
- 764.** *Die Vollkommene Gattin.* Wien, 1847.
- 765.** *Obras poéticas propias de Fray Luis Ponce de Leon todas cuantas se podian hallar . . . recogidas y traducidas en alemán.* Por C. B. Schlüter y W. Storck. Monastero [Münster], Theissing, 1853.
[Contains thirty-eight poems by Luis de León or attributed to him.]
- 766.** *Blüthen spanischer Poesie.* Metrisch übertragen von Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, 1841.
[Contains German translations of a number of poems by Luis de León. Reprinted in 1844. A third edition ("stark vermehrt"), which appeared in 1857, contains translations of twelve of the poems.]
- 767.** *Geistlicher Blumenstrauß aus spanischen und deutschen Dichtergärten.* Von Melchior Diepenbrock. Sulzbach, 1829.
[A second edition appeared in 1852, a third in 1853.]
[NOTE.—Nicolás Antonio mentions two Italian translations of the *Perfecta Casada* as early in date as 1595 and 1598 respectively.]

IV

768. Acosta y Lozano, Z.: "Crítica de las obras poéticas de Fr. Luis de León," in *Museo Universal*, April 15, 1857. Reprinted in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, vol. xv, 1921, pp. 291-302.
769. Alonso Getino, Fr. Luis: "Vida, escritos y fama póstuma del Maestro Fr. Bartolomé de Medina," in *Revista Ibero-americana de ciencias eclesiásticas*. Madrid, 1902.
770. Alonso Getino, Fr. Luis: "La causa de Fr. Luis de León ante la crítica y los nuevos documentos históricos," in *Revista de Archivos*, 1903, vol. ix, pp. 148-56, 268-79, 440-49; 1904, vol. xi, pp. 288-306, 380-97.
771. Alonso Getino, Fr. Luis: *La Autonomía universitaria y la vida de Fray Luis de León*. Salamanca, 1904.
772. Alonso Getino, Fr. Luis: *El proceso de Fr. Luis de León*. Conferencia. Salamanca, 1906.
773. Alonso Getino, Fr. Luis: *Vida y procesos del Maestro Fr. Luis de León*. Salamanca, 1907.
774. Alonso Getino, Fr. Luis: "El 'Decíamos ayer' ante la crítica," in *Correo Español*, 1909.
775. Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliothecæ Hispanæ, etc.* (see No. 42), vol. ii, pp. 36-38.
776. Arango y Escandón, A.: *Frai Luis de Leon. Ensayo histórico*. Mexico, 1866.
777. Arango y Escandón, A.: *Proceso del P.M. Fray Luis de Leon. . . . Ensayo histórico*. Mexico, 1856.
778. Arjona, Manuel María de: "Crítica de las Obras poéticas del P. Fr. Luis de León, MS. inédito de D. Manuel María de Arjona," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xv, 1888, pp. 469-86.
779. Audley, F. C.: "Un moine espagnol du seizième siècle," in *Le Correspondant*, vol. lxiv, pp. 308-50. Paris, 1868.
780. Azorín [José Martínez Ruiz]: *Los dos Luises, y otros ensayos*. Madrid, 1921. (Cf. *Al Margen de los Clásicos*, 1915, pp. 35-60.)
781. Bell, Aubrey F. G.: "Luis de León and the Inquisition," in *Revista de Historia*, 1914, pp. 202-11.
782. Bell, Aubrey F. G.: "Notes on Luis de León's Lyrics," in *Modern Language Review*, 1926, pp. 168-77.
783. Bell, Aubrey F. G.: *Luis de Leon, a Study of the Spanish Renaissance*. Oxford, 1925.
- [The Bibliography (pp. 305-27) is very serviceable, and more important than its length would suggest. It includes a valuable list of books dealing with the Spanish Renaissance in general.]
784. Blanco García, Francisco: "Lo que puede y debe ser el centenario de Fr. Luis de León," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xxi, 1890, pp. 499-504.
785. Blanco García, Francisco: "Segundo proceso instruido en la Inquisición de Valladolid contra Fray Luis de León," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xli, 1896, pp. 16-37, 102-12, 182-91, 273-83.
786. Blanco García, Francisco: "Rectificaciones biográficas," in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, vol. i, pp. 153-60. Madrid, 1899.

787. Blanco García, Francisco : "Fr. Luis de León. Estudio biográfico y crítico," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xlii, 1897, pp. 103-16, 266-79, 440-52, 561-72; vol. xliii, 1897, pp. 179-97, 424-36; vol. xlv, 1897, pp. 81-90, 401-14; vol. xlv, 1898, pp. 89-97, 410-29; vol. xlv, 1898, pp. 5-22, 151-71; vol. xlvii, 1898, pp. 473-86; vol. xlviii, 1899, pp. 574-86; vol. xlix, 1899, pp. 401-15; vol. l, 1899, pp. 249-65; vol. li, 1900, pp. 5-17.
788. Blanco García, Francisco : "Fray Luis de León y los dominicos de Salamanca. Contestación al Rdo. P. Alonso Getino, O.P.," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. lx, 1903, pp. 181-93.
789. Blanco García, Francisco : *Fr. Luis de León*. Estudio biográfico. Madrid, 1904.
790. Bonifacio del Moral, P. : "Catálogo de escritores agustinos españoles, portugueses y americanos . . . Fr. Luis de León," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. lxviii, 1905, pp. 47-55, 127-37, 213-21.
791. Coster, Adolphe : "A propos d'un manuscrit des poésies de L. de León, etc., in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xlv, 1919, pp. 573-582.
792. Coster, Adolphe : "Notes pour une édition des poésies de Luis de León," in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xlv, 1919, pp. 193-248.
793. Coster, Adolphe : "Luis de Leon (1528-91)," in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. liii, 1921, pp. 468; vol. liv, 1922, pp. 1-346.
794. Coster, Adolphe : *Bibliographie de Luis de Leon*. 1923. (See No. 74.)
795. Coster, Adolphe : "Dos palabras más sobre las poesías de Fray Luis de León," in *Homenaje a Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, vol. i, pp. 287-297. Madrid, 1925.
796. Cuervo, Justo : *Historiadores del convento de San Estéban de Salamanca*. Salamanca, 1914-15. 3 vols.
797. Daniel, Gabriel : *Animadversiones in Systema Ludovici Legionensis theologi hispani, de ultimo Christi paschate*. Paris (?), 1695.
798. "Extracto del proceso instruido contra Fray Luis de León," in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. xxxvii, pp. xvii-cxviii.
799. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James : *Fray Luis de León*. A biographical fragment. London, 1921. ("Hispanic Notes and Monographs" Series.)
800. Ford, J. D. M. : "Luis de León, the Spanish poet, humanist and mystic," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1899, vol. xiv, pp. 267-78.
801. Foulché-Delbosc, R. : "El 'Cantar de Cantares' en Octava Rima," in *Revue Hispanique*, tome xxi, pp. 635-57. New York, Paris, 1909.
802. Gil Sanz, A. [Editor] : *Corona poética dedicada a Fr. Luis de León*. Salamanca, 1856.
[A collection of poems to the memory of Luis de León.]
803. Giraldez, Alvaro : "¿Cuándo nació Fray Luis de León?" in *La Epoca*, Nov. 11, 1922.
804. González de Tejada, José : *Vida de Fray Luis de León*. Madrid, 1863.

805. González Llana, Manuel : " Vida de Fray Luis de León," in *Obras Selectas*, 1868, pp. v-xxiv.
806. Guardia, J. M. de : " Fray Luis de Leon : sa vie et ses poésies," in *Le Magasin du Libraire*, July 10, 1860.
807. Guardia, J. M. de : " Fray Luis de Leon, ou la poésie dans le cloître," in *Revue Germanique*, 1863, vol. xxiv, pp. 307-42.
[This article contains prose translations into French of thirteen of Luis de León's poems.]
808. Gutiérrez Cabezón, Manuel : " Los Nombres de Cristo del Beato Alonso de Orozco y de Fray Luis de León," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xc, pp. 422-32; vol. xci, pp. 33-43, 109-15; vol. xcvi, pp. 161-79.
809. [Gutiérrez, Fray Marcelino] : " Sobre la Filosofía de Fr. Luis de León. Adiciones póstumas al libro del P. Marcelino Gutiérrez : Fray Luis de León y la Filosofía Española en el siglo XVI " (ed. P. Conrado Muñoz Sáenz, O.S.A.), in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. lxxiii, 1907, pp. 391-99, 478-94, 662-67; vol. lxxiv, 1907, pp. 49-55, 303-14, 487-96, 628-43; vol. lxxv, 1908, pp. 34-47, 215-21, 292-303, 472-86.
810. Gutiérrez, Fray Marcelino : " Fray Luis de León, filósofo," in *Revista Agustiniana*, vol. ii, 1882, pp. 12-25, 97-104, 198-210, 293-305, 393-401, 500-518.
811. Gutiérrez, Fray Marcelino : *Fray Luis de León y la filosofía española del siglo XVI*. Madrid, 1885 (2nd edition, 1891).
812. Gutiérrez, Fray Marcelino : " Escritos latinos de Fr. Luis de León," in *Ciudad de Dios*, vol. xxii, 1890, pp. 16-34, 93-109, 241-58, 321-38.
[Reprinted as preface to the 1891 edition of the Latin works of Luis de León.]
813. Leforestier, A. : " Poésies attribuées à Fray Luis de León," published by A. Leforestier in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xliii, 1918, pp. 493-504.
814. López de Sedano, J. J. : *Parnaso Español*. Colección de poesías escogidas de los más célebres poetas castellanos. Madrid, 1768-78. 9 vols. Vol. v, pp. ix-xxix.
- 814a. Lugin, A : *Fray Luis de León*, New York, 1924.
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JUAN DE LOS ÁNGELES

I

843. *Considerationum Spiritualium super librum Cantici Canticorum Salomonis, in utraque lingua, latina videlicet et hispana, perquam utilis tractatus a Fr. Ioanne de los Angeles . . . editus. . . .* Matriti, 1607. [B.U.]
844. *Dialogos de la Conquista del espiritual y secreto Reino de Dios, que según el Santo Evangelio está dentro de nosotros mismos. En ellos se trata de la vida interior y divina que vive el alma unida a su Creador por gracia y amor transformante. . . .* Madrid, Madrigal, 1595. [B.N.]
845. Barcelona, Cormellas, 1597. [B.N.]
846. Alcalá, 1602. [B.N.]
847. Madrid, 1608.
 [So Nicolás Antonio and Pérez Pastor (Nos. 42, 66, above).]

848. Madrid, 1658. [B.N., B.U.]
849. *Lucha espiritual y amorosa entre Dios y el alma. En que se descubren las grandezas y triunfos del amor y se enseña el camino excelentísimo de los afectos.* . . . Compuesto por Fr. Juan de los Angeles. . . . Madrid, Madrigal, 1600. [B.N.]
850. Valencia, Mey, 1602. [B.N., B.U.]
[Nicolás Antonio gives the date of the second edition wrongly as 1600.]
851. Madrid, 1608.
852. *Manual de vida perfecta.* Segunda parte de la Conquista del Reino del cielo, intitulada . . . Madrid, 1608. [B.U.]
[Pérez Pastor (see No. 66), vol. ii, pp. 129-30, thinks that there were two editions published at Madrid in this year. But see Fr. Jaime Sala (N.B.A.E., vol. xx, p. xli, note 2).]
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855. *Tratado espiritual de los soberanos misterios y ceremonias santas del Divino Sacrificio de la Misa. Compuesto en diálogos por Fray Juan de los Angeles.* Madrid, 1604. [B.U.]
856. *Tratado espiritual de como el alma ha de traer siempre a Dios delante de sí, y ahora nuevamente añadido un salterio espiritual, etc.* . . . Madrid, 1607. [B.U.]
Fr. Jaime Sala (N.B.A.E., vol. xx, p. xli, note 2) says the first edition is that of Madrid, 1604 (857), but no one seems to know it. Nicolás Antonio cites the 1607 edition as the first (calling it "Tratado de la Presencia de Dios"). The third edition (858) is that of Madrid, 1609; the fourth (859), Zaragoza, 1615; the fifth (860), Madrid, 1624; the sixth (861), Madrid, 1699.
862. *Triumphos del Amor de Dios, obra provechosísima para toda suerte de personas, particularmente para las que por medio de la contemplación desean unirse a Dios.* . . . En Medina del Campo. Por Francisco del Canto. 1590. [B.N., B.M.P., B.U.]
863. *Vergel espiritual del alma religiosa que desea sentir en sí y en su cuerpo los dolores y pasiones de Jesús y conformarse con Él en vida y en muerte, etc.* Madrid, 16(09-)10. [B.N., B.U.]

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864. *Obras místicas del M.R.P. Fr. Juan de los Angeles. Anotadas y precedidas de una introducción bio-bibliográfica.* Por el P. Fr. Jaime Sala. 2 vols. Madrid, 1912.
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866. *Triunfos del Amor de Dios, Obra provechosísima para toda suerte de personas, particularmente para las que por medio de la contemplación, desean unirse a Dios. Compuesta por el P. Fray Juan de los Angeles. Reimpresión tomada y corregida de la edición hecha en Medina del Campo en el año de 1590*. Madrid, 1901.
[Without either critical or biographical introduction.]
867. *Segunda parte de la "Conquista" o Manual de vida perfecta*. Por el P. Fr. Juan de los Angeles, de la orden de S. Francisco de Asís, Padre de la Provincia de San José de los Menores Descalzos. Edición tomada de la que se hizo en Madrid en la imprenta real año 1608, y publicada con una introducción y notas del padre Fr. Jaime Sala, O.F.M. Barcelona, 1905.
[Contains a brief introduction.]

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[See Rousselot (No. 85, above), p. 116.]

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875. Torres Galeote, Francisco de : *La Mística española*. Sevilla, 1907.
[A brief monograph on the *Triunfos* by a Sevillian priest.]
876. Torró, R.P. Antonio, O.F.M. : *Fray Juan de los Angeles, místico-psicólogo*. Barcelona, 1924. 2 tomos.
[The only extensive critical work on Juan de los Angeles. Its length is in excess of its importance, and its different sections are unequal, but it is the result of careful reading and a useful basis for further study. Not biographical. Lacks bibliography and index.]

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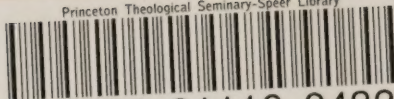
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